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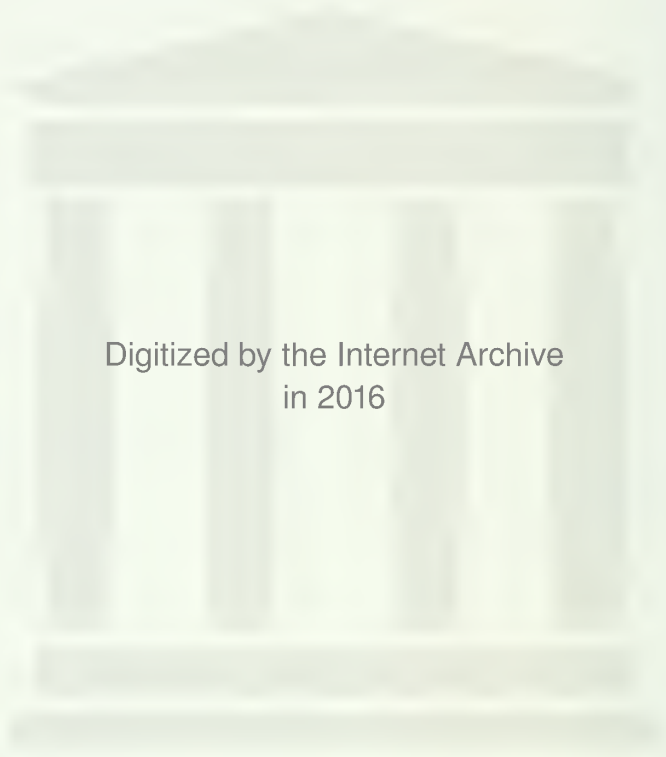
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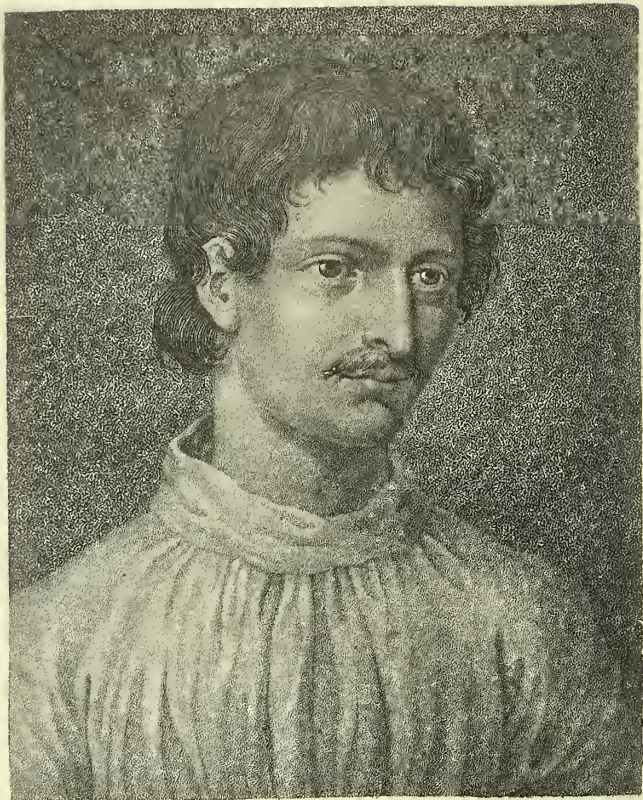
*Presented by his Colleagues & Friends
on his retirement
from the Vice-Chancellorship of
the University of Bristol.*



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1887.

LIFE OF
GIORDANO BRUNO.



GIORDANO BRUNO
THE NOLAN.

LIFE

OF

GIORDANO BRUNO

THE NOLAN

BY

I. FRITH.

REVISED BY

PROFESSOR MORIZ CARRIERE.

BOSTON:

TICKNOR & CO.

1887.

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Inscribed

TO THE MEMORY OF

NICHOLAS TRÜBNER,

THE FAITHFUL FRIEND AND KIND ADVISER WHO

PROPOSED THE SUBJECT OF THIS BOOK,

WHOSE INTEREST IN IT CONTINUED UNFAILING

TO THE LAST HOURS OF HIS LIFE,

AND WITHOUT WHOSE AID

THESE PAGES COULD NEVER HAVE BEEN

WRITTEN.

PREFACE.

THERE is a fact in the great history of Cardinal Baronius by which certain writers take pattern. The Romans of his day are divided by him into two parties, Catholics and Schismatics: to the first he applies all the good, to the latter all the evil, that is told of the city. Now although, when judging the past in the light of the present, we are like those who at high noon find fault with the shadows of dawn, yet, even in these enlightened times, we are apt to weigh our personal likes and dislikes with matters above the jurisdiction of Church and State, forgetting the words of Bacon, "*That we are much beholden to those that write what men do, and not what they ought to do.*" And, unlike that Australian colony which sent up a petition for "*convicts of good character,*" we may take exception to certain critics, more learned in expression than in research, who say that, for an atheist, Giordano Bruno had extraordinary merits. But enlightened and honest readers of his Works will discover them to be his best defence against the unjust and terrible imputation of atheism. "No man," says Sir Joshua Reynolds, "can put more in his sitter's head than he has in his own;" and, in the same way, if we would understand a philosophical writer, we must meet him in a philosophic spirit, not with

a disposition to tolerate no theories except, as the Prayer-Book says, "those hammered on our own anvils."

The influence of this courageous thinker on the golden age of English literature has hitherto almost escaped notice. As, however, the existence of invisible celestial bodies is foretold by the perturbations of visible stars, it is interesting to show how, by the shining track of thought, Bacon, Sidney, Marlowe, and perhaps even Shakespeare, are related to an obscure foreign visitor. These resemblances can be traced by a moderately careful study of the Italian works, notably the dialogues *Della Causa*.

During Bruno's stay in England his best work was accomplished; and in the *Cena delle Ceneri* his notes on English society and on English manners in the time of Elizabeth will be found full of interest. England, which had harboured him in his happier days, and for which he entertained a sincere affection, is last in attempting to reinstate his memory; but it is a source of sincere gratitude to the writer of these lines that Professor Carriere, the philosopher who was among the first to recognise and to make public the merits of Bruno, should, after the lapse of nearly forty years, be found willing to revise the slender and imperfect tribute of a country tardy to render him justice.

In beginning at this late date an account of the life and works of Giordano Bruno, acknowledgment is due to the labours of earlier writers. Forty years ago two young students—Moriz Carriere and Christian Bartholmèss—of different nations, personally unknown to each other, and ignorant of each other's labours, undertook the task of writing histories of the Nolan. The French *Life of Bruno* was published in 1846, at Paris, in two volumes; the German history occupies part of a work entitled *Die Philosophische Weltanschauung der Reformationszeit*, printed in 1847 at Stuttgart. With few materials

at their command the two young scholars overcame the contention, raised by the Catholics, that Bruno never existed, or, if he existed, was never burnt ; and, carefully sifting all the scanty evidence, they pieced together with great pains historic accounts which are verified by new facts as they appear ; while their system of the Nolan philosophy is invaluable to later students.

To Professor Moriz Carriere is due the distinction of having been the first to point out Bruno's greatest achievement in philosophy,—his doctrine that God is at one and the same time immanent and transcendent ; that he is not only within us, nearer to ourselves than we are to ourselves, the life of life, light of light, the vivifying Spirit of all, but that he is self-conscious and self-existent, one in whom act and power, possibility and reality, are one, who is all he can be in every part, and thus plainly distinguished from the universe, which is all it can be as a whole, but not in its parts.

Nor did Christian Bartholmèss flinch in the cause of idealistic philosophy, upholding, with great learning and with the insight born of sympathy, the Platonic and essentially spiritual character of Bruno's teaching.

We have next the history of Bruno written by Dr. Brunnhofer of Aarau (Leipsig, 1882), reviewing the philosophy from a materialistic point of view, and embodying the latest discoveries with regard to Bruno's life ; and that of Signor Berti (*Vita di Giordano Bruno da Nola*, Florence, 1868), which contains a great quantity of valuable material ; while two scholarly pamphlets by Professor Sigwart (*Giordano Bruno vor dem Inquisitionsgericht*, 1881, and *Die Lebensgeschichte Giordano Bruno's*, Tübingen, 1880) present a searching though brief analysis of Bruno's history and philosophy ; and a succession of smaller works bear witness to the growth of public interest, first roused by Moriz Carriere and by Christian Bartholmèss.

N.B.—The full titles of Bruno's works will be found in the Appendix. In quoting various editions, it may be necessary to notice that W. represents the edition of the Italian works published by Wagner at Leipsic in 1830, and Gfr. stands for the Latin works reprinted by Gfroerer, Stuttgart, London, and Paris, 1834.

The documents of Bruno's trial in Venice, which took place in the year 1592, are reprinted by Signor Berti

under the title *Documenti intorno a Giordano Bruno da Nola*, Rome, 1880.

It is in contemplation to print a second volume, containing a summary of the works, with the documents of the trial and other confirmatory evidence.

The thanks of the writer are due to Mr. Wm. Heinemann, who has kindly compiled a list of authorities which will be found a valuable addition to the Appendix.

CONTENTS.



CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
BIRTH AT NOLA, 1548—THE SPANISH VICEROYS—THE POET TANSILLO—DOMINICANS—AQUINAS—THE NOAH'S ARK —POPE PIUS V.	I

CHAPTER II.

NAPLES—THE FLORENTINE ACADEMY—THE TRIALS AT NAPLES AND IN ROME—FLIGHT FROM ROME, 1576— GENOA—NOLI—THE SPHERE—BRUNO'S <u>THEORY OF</u> <u>THE STARS AND SUNS</u> —TURIN—VENICE— <u>COPERNICUS</u>	28
---	----

CHAPTER III.

GENEVA, MAY 20, 1579—LYONS—TOULOUSE, 1579-80 . . .	50
--	----

CHAPTER IV.

GENEVA—JOURNEY THROUGH FRANCE, 1581—PARIS— <u>LULLY</u> — <u>SOME LATIN WORKS ON THE ART OF MEMORY</u> . . .	68
---	----

CHAPTER V.

ENGLAND, 1583-85—M. CASTELNAU DE MAUVISSIÈRE— <u>DOCTRINE OF ECSTASY—TRACES OF GERMAN MYSTI-</u> <u>CISM—BRUNO AT OXFORD, JUNE 1583—HIS LECTURES</u> <u>ON THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL—THE PRINTER</u> VAUTROLIER—SIDNEY	104
--	-----

CHAPTER VI.

SECOND VISIT TO PARIS, 1585—THE DISPUTATION—POR- TRAIT OF BRUNO—VALUE OF INDUCTION AND OF THE IMAGINATION—INFLUENCE OF HIS PHILOSOPHY UPON HIS CHARACTER — ITS INFLUENCE ON DESCARTES, SPINOZA, AND LEIBNITZ	PAGE 136
--	-------------

CHAPTER VII.

PARIS, JUNE 1, 1586—MAYENCE, JULY 1586—MARBURG, JULY 1586—MATRICULATED AT WITTENBERG, AUGUST 20, 1586—QUITS WITTENBERG, MARCH 1588—THE FAREWELL ORATION AT WITTENBERG	163
--	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

PRAGUE, 1588—HELMSTEDT, JANUARY 13, 1589	189
--	-----

CHAPTER IX.

FRANKFORT, JULY 2, 1590—ON THE THREEFOLD MINIMUM— ON THE MONAD, THE INNUMERABLE, THE IMMENSE, AND THE UNFIGURABLE—ON THE COMPOSITION OF IMAGES, SIGNS, AND IDEAS	205
---	-----

CHAPTER X.

ZURICH—PADUA—THE TRIAL AT VENICE	238
--	-----

CHAPTER XI.

THE TRIAL AT ROME—THE DEATH OF BRUNO	284
--	-----

LIFE OF GIORDANO BRUNO.

CHAPTER I.

“Ecrivez philosophie ou philosophie comme il vous plaira ; mais convenez que, dès qu'elle parait, elle est persécutée.”—VOLTAIRE, *Dictionnaire Philosophique*, Art. “*Philosophie*.”

Birth at Nola, 1548. The Spanish Viceroy. The Poet Tansillo. Dominicans. Aquinas. The Noah's Ark. Pope Pius V.

IN the year 1548, at Nola near Naples, there was born a man destined to mark out a new era in philosophy. One of a group of noble figures, who, like the Israelites of old, passed through the fire unharmed, Giordano Bruno died for philosophy, and philosophy in return will keep his memory green, not only among the laurels and olives of his country, but in every land where the truth is honoured among the emblems of peace and victory.

His life offers material of great interest. He was a figure typical of his time, of that brilliant period of transition when the genius of the Middle Ages was merged in the spirit of modern inquiry. Few and chilly the souls which could come into the presence of that fiery spirit without kindling into enthusiasm, nor without becoming attached to a writer so fertile in contrasts. With a singular inventive mind, it was incumbent on him to express himself in verse ; but he was rather a philosopher than a poet.

Bruno was born eight years after the death of Coper-

nius, into whose inheritance he was to enter, and thirteen years before the birth of Bacon, to whom in some degree he was to bequeath his philosophy. His birthplace lay at the foot of Mount Cicala, near Vesuvius, and under the benign sky of Italy, "that region," as he says (W. i. 222), "beloved of heaven, the head and dexter hand of this globe, the queen and tamer of all other generations of man, by us and others ever held to be the mistress, nurse, and mother of all virtues." Ardent and impetuous, he was called in his own time the knight-errant of philosophy; for he was one of the violent who take the kingdom of heaven by storm. In his own words, "Difficulty is ordained to deter mean spirits; rare, heroic, and divine men pass over the road of difficulty and compel necessity to yield them the palm of immortality" (W. i. 142). His mind, coloured by the luminous air and brilliant skies of his birthplace, received the powerful impetus of the Renaissance, and his thought asserted itself with the greater force from having snapped the restrictions laid upon it by the Church.

"Men," says Tasso, "resemble the earth which bears them;" and the fire burning within Bruno was kindled near Vesuvius and fostered on a volcanic soil. "In their entire historical appearance," says Schwegeler when speaking of Bruno, Campanella, and Vanini, "they are like the eruptions of a volcano, rather precursors and prophets, than originators and founders of a new era of philosophy;" and the comparison is made acceptable by the place of Bruno's birth and by the fiery metaphors which other writers have bestowed on him. "He is," says Hegel, "a comet," and, like a comet, it may be said he returns to sight after three hundred years. "The works of Bartholmæss of Strasburg," says Baron Bunsen (*Memoirs*, ii. 254), "gave me occasion to become more nearly acquainted with that strange, erratic, comet-like spirit, a genius, but a Neapolitan, whose life was but a fiery fragment." He is called by Hallam "the meteor of science," and Victor

Cousin speaks of the "traces of mingled blood and fire" which mark Bruno's progress in the history of civilisation.

Abandoning contemplation for observation, he was the champion of natural science; he sought knowledge in nature, and preferring the inductive method, he was the herald of the great Bacon. His theories anticipate many modern discoveries, and in the pure ideality of his conceptions he surpasses Descartes and Leibnitz, Berkeley, Spinoza, and even Hegel, philosophers said to derive much from his teaching. With him, nothing is real but the ideal; and, like the orator of Cicero, he maintains there is nothing of any kind so fair that there may not be a fairer conceived by the mind; while with Plato he affirms the idea to be an individual object, an eternal exemplar present in the Divine mind, and received by man in participation, but not in essence.

Something in the history of Nola itself contributed to the energy of its sons. Italy was at the head of the Renaissance. The genius of Dante and Petrarch, the splendid discoveries of Columbus, Vespucci, and Cabot, the ambition of the Medici, descended upon no unworthy heirs, and the discoveries of Galileo in the heavens were at least on a par with those of the great travellers in the western hemisphere. But the dark thread in this glittering skein of wealth and adventure was the spirit of intolerance, which had descended upon the leaders of the people. The Inquisition, under the fostering care of Paul III., sprang into renewed existence three years before the death of Luther. It was, perhaps, merely an indication of the intolerance¹ common to the whole of Europe.

¹ But no foreign tyranny, nor even the insufferable shadow of the Inquisition, which fretted Bruno's heart, could dim the lustrous image of his birthplace. In the *Heroic Rapture* (W. ii. 402) he assigns to the nymph Diana, who is the symbol of truth, the "golden fields of Nola" among "beauteous nymphs" who represent all the virtues that blossom on that happy soil. If higher praise could be, Bruno at least could dream of none; and in this he resembled Dante, who speaks (*Convito*, ii. 16) of Boethius and Tully as having directed him "to the love, that is, to the study, of this most gentle lady philosophy." "I say and affirm," he says again (*Convito*, v. 16), "that the lady with

These unfavourable conditions were increased by the despotism of Spain. The Escorial gave the tone to Italy. The little town of Nola is some miles from Naples, which was the headquarters of the Spanish Viceroy. Bruno was born under the sinister auspices of Spain, towards the end of the reign of Charles V., and under the viceroyalty of Don Pedro of Toledo, who, according to Brantôme, was for twenty years the scourge of Naples. Under Philip II. the fanatic Duke of Alva presented himself as an object of terror to the people. He was, says De Thou, "better for war than for peace; and he was persuaded that the foundations of empire should be laid, not in love, but in terror." He had slaughtered eight hundred heretics in one Easter week, and pillage and massacre were the ordinary accompaniment of his victories; while such was the cruelty of his rule, that in 1574 the seamen of Zeeland during a revolt wore a crescent on their hats with this inscription, "Rather Turks than Papists," to imply that the Turks had more humanity than Alva. The horrible "Spanish fury," which was a proverb in the Netherlands, did not belie itself in Italy. Spain was the aggressive power of that day. Every nation trembled before her;

whom I became enamoured after my first love was the most beautiful and modest daughter of the Emperor of the Universe, to whom Pythagoras gave the name of Philosophy." The goddess of Bruno's worship is made to issue from a forest; her sovereign beauty and goodness eclipse all others, and make them vile and vain; she is the highest bliss; she causes all earthly passions, all fear and hope, yea, life itself to be forgotten; he who is seized by this divine passion loves the flame consuming him; his sickness is better than health; his chains than liberty. He is a prisoner, a slave; but the divine love does not weigh his spirit down to earth; it raises him above all things, and above liberty itself; its yoke is of fire, but

lighter than air; he who is its slave is so thrice blessed that he envies neither God nor men their liberty. For this blissful conception the philosopher can choose in the whole earth no happier home than Nola, "the little city," which, according to Montaigne, "was ruined by barbarians"—such is the difference in men's liking. Yet in a foreign land Bruno writes (W. i. 220), "The true philosopher makes every country his own;" and this same spirit inspires his touching address to Castelnau, written in exile (*Explicatio 30 Sigillorum*), where he speaks of his gratitude to one who has made a home for the homeless wanderer, by changing England into Italy, and London into Nola.

and Alva, after those victories which he followed up with massacres so prodigious, that but for his own testimony they would seem too monstrous for belief, Alva erected a colossal statue to himself, attired in classical costume, the base adorned with choice mythological figures—none of which, it may be hoped, referred to that sacrifice by the hangman of twenty thousand human beings, for which the Duke was responsible, in the Netherlands. The king of Spain, however, was the only power at all comparable to the Grand Turk; and the representative of the king of Spain in Naples was a figure hardly less hideous and terrific to the inhabitants of the rich and smiling Italian country than that pagan neighbour who was perpetually threatening a descent upon their coasts.

Nola is one of the oldest towns in Italy. Standing midway between Vesuvius and the sea, it was encircled in ancient times by walls of great height, and its twelve gates were crowned with high towers, in order that the city might stand a long siege. From its twelve gates, twelve roads led into the outlying country, or brought princes from Rome or from Athens to the palaces, the stately temples, and amphitheatres which were set thickly together under the shadow of Vesuvius. In the time of Bruno, however, these splendid edifices had disappeared. The hewn and polished marbles, which might have defied decay, were seized by the first comer and worked into the wall of an orchard or the roof of a pig-sty; and while Petrarch sighed that Rome, the ancient capital of the world, should adorn from her own bowels the slothful luxury of Naples, Naples and the surrounding cities were given up to the same work of devastation. The palaces of senators were no longer adapted to the manners of peasants; the baths were prohibited because they spread the plague; the porticoes were neglected and their use forgotten; in the sixth century the games of the theatre, amphitheatre, and circus had been interrupted; some temples were used as Christian churches, but where money was sufficiently

plentiful the holy figure of the cross was preferred to the ruins, however splendid, of buildings with heathen associations. But if the people were unmindful of the use and beauty of ancient architecture, they by no means despised the bountiful materials at their disposal; and marble which could not be used to eke out modern buildings was burnt to lime and made into cement. Still, in witness of their ancient grandeur, the people found from time to time vases, gems, and coin embedded in the soil; and except for these, and for some legacy of gentleness and cultivation which lingered among her sons, Nola might have wept with the wife of Phinehas over her departed glory. The historians of the beloved city count among famous Nolans the poet Tansillo, Albertino Gentile, the jurist; Algeri, who was the forerunner of Bruno in the grievous ways of martyrdom; Ambrogio Leone, the historian of his native place and the friend of Erasmus, with a number of lesser lights, ranging from Merliano the sculptor, who was surnamed the Neapolitan Buonarroti, to Santarelli Stellioli, names which still live in the history of the little town.

Nola, according to Berti, preserved more and deeper traces of Greek civilisation than any city of Magna Grecia. It was a bishopric, and twelve years after Bruno's birth could boast a college founded by the Jesuits. "The Jesuits," says Fuller in his *Church History*, "had two most ancient and flourishing convents beyond the seas; Nola in Italy, as I take it, where their house it seems gives a bow for their arms; and La Flèche in France, where they have an arrow for their device:

"Arcum Nola dedit, dedit his La Flèche Sagittam;
 Illis, quis nervum, quem merùere, dabit." . . .

No actual proof of the influence of Bruno's parents on his early training remains. But

"There is a history in all men's lives,
 Figuring the nature of the times deceased,"

2 *Henry IV.*, iii. 1.

and the fact that his training was serious and philosophic, and begun at a very early age, shows that the person directing him, whether father or mother, was fully capable of estimating and applying his powers. There seems also no reason to doubt that the poet Tansillo¹ was the friend of Bruno's father; and in that case, the latter probably came of a stock by no means ignoble. Tansillo, himself of noble birth, belonged to the republic of letters. He was befriended in his youth by Ariosto; he was acquainted with Tasso, and he was well received at the court of the Viceroy, Don Pedro de Toledo. Learning and adventure, poverty and noble antecedents had helped to form his character, a touch of licentiousness serving to associate him with the other minor poets of his time. He was born about the year 1510, at Venosa, of Nolan parents, and spent his early youth at Nola, where he probably made the acquaintance of Bruno's family, which is proved by the register to have been settled for a length of time near Mount Cicala. Tansillo lived for many years at Naples; and it is possible that under his neighbourly direction the "Nolan Muse," of which Bruno speaks so fondly, was fostered and developed.

In any case, a powerful and lasting influence was brought to bear on the young poet, and his descent, so far as it is known, does not altogether account for his poetic gift. His father was a soldier. His mother, Fraulissa Savolina, was almost certainly of German extraction, and he was born in or near the German colony outlying Nola. Among the numerous women upon the Nolan registers, the singular

¹ Tiraboschi speaks of Tansillo as an "elegant writer," adding, "He has been exalted above Petrarch, which is too great praise for him, and denied by persons of any discernment." The critic concludes by remarking that three comedies ascribed to Tansillo were the work of the infamous Aretino; a fact which completely dismisses the question of "elegance," since a more

hideous perverter of elegance than Aretino probably never existed. After the appearance of Tansillo's first poem, the *Vendemmiatore*, his works were prohibited by Pope Pius IV. The poet then tuned his lyre to another strain, and wrote a devotional ode entitled *The Tears of St. Peter*, on which the Pope was appeased, and Tansillo's name was taken off the Index.

name of Fraulissa does not occur; it is believed by Brunnhofer to be a form of Fraulinda, or of the old high German Fraulich. The registers of Nola, which have been searched by Fiorentino, show the father of Bruno to have been twenty years of age in 1545; he was the son of one Geronimo Bruno, then aged forty-six, and was one of a family of nine children. It is possible that Geronimo Bruno was still alive in 1591 when *De Minimo* was written; that is to say, if the words *distantis imago parentis* (book ii. chap. 3) are to be taken literally, as suggested by M. Paul de Lagarde. It is certain that both the father and mother of Bruno were dead at the time of his trial. An allusion to the foreign colony at the foot of Mount Cicala occurs in the *Expulsion* (W. ii. 152), when mention is made of a *maestro Danese* and of one Franzino, a name of German origin. The charcoal-burners of Mount Scarvaeta near Mount Cicala are spoken of in the *Candle-Bearer* (W. i. 30), and Bruno speaks again of his native place towards the end of the play (W. i. 101)—“To Don Paulino, priest of S. Primma, which is in a village near Nola, Scipio Savolino went one Good Friday and confessed his sins, and though many and great, they were speedily absolved, for the curate was his friend. On the next occasion, without more ado, Scipio said to Don Paulino, ‘Father, to-day’s sins complete the year,’ and Don Paulino replied, ‘Son, thou knowest to-day’s absolution completes the year. Go in peace, and sin no more.’”

There is an allusion to the father of Bruno in the *Heroic Rapture* (W. ii. 324), which seems to prove that some of Bruno’s philosophy was inherited. On a neighbour saying one evening after supper, “I was never so happy as I am now,” he was answered by Gioan Bruno, the father of the Nolan, “’Tis because thou wast never more foolish than now.” (This may be compared with a story which appeared lately in an American journal. “The snow don’t pile so high as it did,” said one Yankee

peasant to another. "When we were boys we used to make caves in the drifts that you could stand upright in, and have room overhead too." "'Tis because we were shorter than we are now," said his neighbour.) Bruno preserves but one anecdote of his childhood (Gfr. 572). When he was in swaddling-clothes (an elastic period in Italy), a huge snake crept through a hole in the wall of the house. The boy screamed, and his father, who was sleeping in the next room, came running with a thick stick. He overcame the serpent, pouring out meanwhile "vehement, irate words," which so impressed the child, that years after, "his memory awaking as from a dream," he was enabled to repeat word for word all that had passed.

The powerful order of the Dominicans, with the Spanish Government at its back, offered a promising career to a studious lad, and one which it was policy on the part of his parents to accept, specially equipped as he was by his own love of learning. Dominican and Franciscan alike aspired to rule the universities, and to do so, the universities must be met on their own ground. Besides, the Dominican order having been founded by a Spaniard, and sharing to a certain degree the acquisitive national humour, was openly supported by Spain, not alone in Naples, but in independent countries. St. Dominic and his institution are, in fact, the expression of the hierarchy of the West, while St. Francis represents the direct resignation of the Christian spirit, not to the traditions of a Church, but to love and to Christ. The Dominican looked to the Church for salvation; the Franciscan taught that the kingdom of God was within the Christian. Poverty and self-denial, these were his rules, and these instruments guided him on the way to heaven; but the Dominican's hope lay in the power of the Word. The Franciscan's outward poverty was inward riches, the riches of Christ; he desired to be poor in this world that he might be rich in righteousness. He preached by the

roadside, in meadows, and in fields, speaking the common tongue of the people, exhorting to love, self-denial, and poverty. The Dominican system demanded from each preacher and confessor a rigorous examination by skilled examiners; he must possess not only a profound knowledge of the Scripture, but a special gift of preaching; and if he had not these, he was not permitted to preach at all. For the Franciscan, the inner light sufficed; if his calling was from God, the learning of man was of no account.

Yet it may be said, in the words of Dante, "Unto one end their labours were" (*Paradiso* xi.), a verse immediately following his celebrated comparison of St. Francis to the flame, and St. Dominic to the light, "*the one seraphic in ardour, the other, by his wisdom on the earth, a splendour of cherubic light.*"

But if their ends were the same, there was a vast difference in the means employed by the two orders. St. Dominic, that saturnine and repelling Spaniard, the "Chastiser" of Dante, was aptly characterised by his funereal garb; by the dog, his emblem; and by the title of *Persecutor of the Heretics*, bestowed on him by the Inquisition of Toulouse, after his expedition to stamp out the Albigenses. Twelve years after the death of the founder, his powerful spirit was living still; and the brethren of his Order became the bodyguard of the Inquisition—the *domini canes*, the dogs of the Lord, who truly stood in no need of them.

The Church in troubled times offered a safe and peaceable calling to a lover of letters, and Bruno from his early youth was inclined to poetry and learning. He probably quitted Nola when in his tenth or eleventh year. Until his fourteenth year he studied privately in Naples under an Augustinian friar, Teofilo da Varrano, and he may have lodged with his uncle, Agostino Bruno, whom we know by the Nolan register to have been a weaver of velvet, living in Naples. He also attended the lectures of a professor named *Il Sarnese*, who may have been one

Vincenzo Colle da Sarno,¹ the author of *Destructio destructionem Baldovini quas quidem destructor ad implevit*, Neap. apud M. Cancer, 1554.

That Bruno attended private lectures is a proof either of his precocious love of learning, or of the assiduous attention of his parents and of their easy circumstances. He learnt, he says at his trial, logic, dialectic, and what was then called humanism, and later *belles-lettres*, beside arithmetic, geometry, music, poetry, astrology, physics, metaphysics, and ethics (W. ii. 187), which, with logic, are counted by Bruno as the nine daughters of the great mother Mnemosyne.

Thus pursuing his studies, Bruno was at peace while the Neapolitan provinces were racked by earthquake, pest, and famine. The Turks descended upon the people of Chiaia, and carried them away as slaves. Calabria was infested with a band of outlaws led by a robber chief, who facetiously called himself *il re Mareone*. In the same province the unhappy Waldenses, who had fled from Piedmont for refuge, endured unheard-of tortures, and ended their wretched lives as martyrs. Eighty-eight of them had their throats cut with the same knife, and the rest were quartered, and their remains passed from hand to hand to be a warning in the provinces (*Archivio Storico del Viessieux*, vol. ix.) What wonder that, in the midst of such events, the young philosopher should turn for peace, leisure, and advancement to the convent?

It is said that had there been no Jesuits there had been no Voltaire; and perhaps had there been no Dominicans the philosophy of Bruno could not have come into existence. "Mathematics," said the Dominican Father Caccini, when preaching at Florence on the Galileans, a punning reference to Galileo, "are an invention of the devil;" and some such opinion may have prevailed in the Dominican

¹ This Augustinian, after teaching the doctrines of Aristotle for some years in Naples, was named Rector of the convent of Florence,

and afterwards was called to Rome, where he delivered lectures on metaphysics to the great satisfaction of his hearers.

convent in Naples. Either the young monk's taste for mathematics or his passion for disputation soon brought him into collision with his spiritual masters, and it will be readily understood why he spent a great part of his life in travelling, as well whilst he was in orders as out of them, since the course of this stormy spirit, flying before the gust like a petrel, was beset with difficulties, of which, to confess the truth, he was too often the author.

"From my eighteenth year," he says in the evidence of his trial (Doc. xi.), "I doubted within myself . . . regarding the name of the persons of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, not comprehending the two Persons distinct from the Father, except as speaking philosophically, and assigning the intellect of the Father to the Son and his love to the Holy Spirit, without recognising that name of Person, which by St. Augustine is declared to be a name, not old, but new, and of his time."

Nor were his views of the monks such as to make him tolerant of their company. In the *Expulsion* he speaks of them as "personages very ready to give away places in the kingdom of heaven, but incapable of earning an inch of ground for themselves." "Let friars live," says one of the accusers at his trial, repeating the words of Bruno, "on a scanty portion of broth" (Doc. iv.), and ascetic contemplation or ecstasy he dismisses (*Sigillus Sigillorum*, Gfr. 576) with the strongest expressions of disgust.

At the age of fourteen, or between fourteen and fifteen (1562-63), Bruno assumed the dress of the Dominicans, when he changed his baptismal name of Filippo for that of Giordano, and entered the cloister of St. Dominic in Naples, once the home of Thomas Aquinas. The convent itself wears an enticing aspect for the lover of study. It stands among palaces upon a hill, its antique front turned towards the city, and flanked by spacious perfumed gardens, with cloisters running round their outer sides. Meditation seems to wait upon the age and silence of the spot, which bears the imprint of ten centuries on its strong walls and

solitary cells. Three hundred years before, Aquinas had watched the incomparable aspect of Naples daily brighten and grow dim from the spot where Bruno now waited on his destiny. The presence of the Angelic Doctor still lingers in the ancient pile. In his cell, which is now a chapel, he first designed the system of religious philosophy which he taught, sitting in a hall on the right of the convent church. The church itself, one of the most beautiful in Naples, is full of historic tombs, embellished by hands which lend another lustre to immortality, and above the altar is the crucifix which it is said held converse with the saint, and manifested its approval of his doctrine.

In this monastic seclusion the young philosopher spent thirteen years, from 1563 till 1576. The Prior, Ambrogio Pasqua, appears, according to his epitaph in the Church of Santa Maria della Sanita, to have possessed a strong character. He was vice-chancellor of the College of Theology, a public lecturer, and exemplary in his life and doctrine. Probably he resembled other Italian priests of his day. The Church was their world; they were nimble-minded and persuasive, quick to discern merit, and to press it into the service of their order; and the dawning powers of the young monk were not likely to escape observation. After a year's novitiate Bruno made his full profession before the Prior, and at the age of sixteen assumed servitude for life—a precocity in which there was nothing unusual, for Campanella was invested with the habit when he was fourteen, and Sarpi at the age of thirteen.

We learn from the evidence which he gave when put upon his trial at Venice, that in due time the young monk was promoted to holy orders and to the priesthood, and that he sang his first mass in Campagna, a city of the kingdom of Naples, in the mountains to the east of Salerno, living meanwhile in a Dominican monastery dedicated to St. Bartholomew. Afterwards, in pursuit of his priestly calling, he celebrated mass and the other divine offices, under the direction of his superiors, while travelling from

cloister to cloister, and applying himself to the treasures of the libraries.

During these years of monastic life he laid the foundation of those stores of learning on which he framed his books; and without that period of leisure it is certain his best literary work would have lacked its richness and variety. He had a complete knowledge of the philosophy of the Greeks, was fairly acquainted with the Kabbalah, though he was no Hebrew scholar, and he knew the Latin translations of the great Arabic philosophers. Among the scholastics his early training made him acquainted with Thomas Aquinas, on whom he gave public lectures; the mystic teaching of Raymund Lully was blended in his mind with the more practical natural philosophy of the Cardinal Bishop of Cusa and the great astronomical discoveries of Copernicus. His mind grew by that it fed on; and there is scarcely an author on whom it is easier to point out the influences to which he was subject and the sources to which he looked for enlightenment. "What vast reading and what varied study," says Bartholmèss, "appear on every page! How many authors are praised, blamed, and quoted! how large a place the schools of the Middle Ages, and above all, those of antiquity, hold in his memory! what an empire they exercise over his opinions!"

Bruno himself tells us that he became a Dominican in order to pursue learning and to strengthen his imagination; and in proof of his command over the wisdom of the ancients, the German critic Jacobi writes that he (Bruno) had made their writings his own, and that, penetrated as he was by the spirit of antiquity, he nevertheless preserved his own identity. The love of Nature, the use of induction ("which," says Bacon, "*is our only hope*" (*Nov. Or. Aphor. 14*), "the only fitting remedy by which we can ward off and expel idols"), above all, the proper use of the imagination—these were his weapons, and this the method he chose.

It was not long, however, before the coercion of monastic

rule forced him to seek refuge in himself, and, in his own words (W. ii. 313), "Being drawn on the one side by the tragic Melpomene (who has more sense than humour), and on the other by the comic Thalia (who has more humour than sense), it happened that while the one Muse would steal him from the other, he remained in their midst, rather neutral and inactive than diligent with both. Moreover, those in authority withheld him from the higher and more worthy aims to which he was disposed by nature; his mind was enslaved, and from being free under virtue, he became the prisoner of a most vile and foolish hypocrisy. Finally, through press of trouble, it happened that having no other consolation, he turned to those (the Muses), who are said to have inebriated him with frenzies, verses and rhymes, such as they vouchsafe to no other; . . . for they are worthy of laurels who sing of heroic things, establishing heroic souls in philosophy, or truly celebrating it, and holding it up as a mirror and example to nations;" and a little later he says (316), that with the Muses he is "comforted, sustained, and directed, and that they are his refuge in time of weariness and peril;" concluding thus, "For to those who are favoured by Heaven the greatest ills turn to blessings yet greater, since necessity begets toil and learning, and these for the most part give birth to the glory of a splendid immortality." But of his experience in verse-writing he says, "Doubtless the Poet at sundry times and from many causes rejects the Muses. Firstly, he may lack the necessary leisure, for leisure is lacking to one forced to strive against the servants and slaves of envy, ignorance, and wickedness. Secondly, because no worthy helpers and defenders are beside him to make him steadfast."

The development of his mind may be traced in several passages of his books. When, as a boy, he looked upon Cicala from his home, he could see chestnuts, laurels, and myrtles; and the more distant Vesuvius, that singular and solitary hill, honeycombed with fire, seemed to him a

rude unfruitful mass. But when at length he came to Vesuvius and could perceive the abundance of separate things, the vines and all the other growth, and looked over to Cicala, which in its turn had put on a blank and shapeless aspect, he deduced the lesson that "in Nature there is no distance and nothing is near, but that Nature is everywhere spacious and lofty." ("No one actually sees distance; he sees only certain signs from which he has learned to judge intuitively of it."—*Maudsley*.)

"The truest and most essential painter," he says (Gfr. 529), "is the liveliness of the fancy; the first and most essential poet is inspiration, which is co-equal with thought, and by the divinity or divinely-sent influence of which thought becomes due and suitable representation of both. Inspiration is the innermost principle. Therefore, and in a certain measure, philosophers are painters; poets are painters and philosophers; painters are philosophers and poets. He who is not a poet and a painter is no philosopher. We say rightly that to understand is to see imaginary forms and figures; and understanding is fancy, at least it is not deprived of fancy. He is no painter who is not in some degree a poet and thinker, and there can be no poet without a certain measure of thought and representation." And again, "Some men discover harmony by means of the eye, others, though in a less degree, by the ear. The minds of true poets, musicians, painters, and philosophers are clearly related one to the other, since all true philosophy is at the same time music, poetry, and painting. True poetry is at the same time music and philosophy. True poetry and music are in a manner divine wisdom and painting" (*De Imaginum Signorum et Idearum Compositione*). These words will be found peculiarly useful in dealing not only with Bruno, but with his critics and historians. Numbers of able and learned men have approached the subject, and from every point of view it is certain that some light may be gathered; but too many of these writers bestow

their own individuality upon facts and a philosophy which demand more sympathising treatment. As a short painter will unconsciously draw his figures too short and a Jewish painter gives a hook to the nose of his hero, in the same way a materialist writes of materialism and makes his hero a materialist; and, indeed, every man puts into his work something of his own. In works upon Bruno and his philosophy he will be found to appear as a materialist, an atheist, a pantheist, and sometimes in his true character as an idealist.

Indeed, to rebut the charges of pantheism and atheism levelled at his memory must be the task of every student of the Nolan philosophy, who cannot but feel with Sir Philip Sidney when he wrote, "It likes me much better to find virtue in a fair lodging, than when I am bound to seek it in an ill-favoured creature, like a pearl in a dung-hill." Had Bruno survived to write, like Descartes, a *Discours sur la Méthode*, the Nolan must have escaped the accusation of pantheism which has risen from his conception of a world-soul, with its attendant difficulties. The soul of the world is understood by Bruno to be, like the soul of man, from God and in God, having its being from him and doing its duty for him; perfect in harmony, use, and beauty, because it is inspired by him, a flaming minister, a luminous and excellent star, a herald and ambassador setting forth his glory. A firm believer in the power of thought, he held it to be, like all the works of God, divine in its origin, bearing within itself the fullness of life, and sealed with the seal of infinity, and he was a forerunner of all who have struggled and suffered in the cause of religious freedom. "He suffered," says Coleridge in his *Table-Talk and Omniana*, "at Rome for atheism; that is, as is proved by all his works, for a lofty and enlightened piety, which was, of course, unintelligible to bigots and dangerous to an apostate hierarchy. If the human mind be, as it assuredly is, the sublimest object which nature affords to our contemplation, his lines, which

portray the human mind under the action of its most elevated affections, have a fair claim to the praise of sublimity."

Few men at any period are more closely identified with philosophy than Bruno, and yet there are few thinkers whose names are less familiar to the world. No work exists in English even with the small scope of the present volume, viz., to give a review of the least abstruse of his writings, and to lay before the public such scanty materials as are at present forthcoming with respect to his life. But fortunately, history is not entirely dependent on the material facts of existence: thought plays a large part in life; and a record of Bruno's thought lies before us in a long series of works occupied with the discussion of scientific truths. Many of these truths are now no longer tokens of battle, but remain like tattered flags to tell of the struggle and pains of victory. Such is the theory of Copernicus. Others, such as the theory of instinct, of evolution, of the life of species, of the perfectibility of man, of the history of the earth, and the relations of the universe, still form the rallying-ground of thinkers. His claim to distinction rests upon his vigorous scheme of inductive thought, and upon a quality which, at that period remote from modern science, is like the insight of a seer into the hidden forces of Nature. "Why lean," he says, "upon vain fancy when experience herself is our teacher?" (W. ii. 56). "Let us see, therefore, to what innumerable discoveries we are enabled to proceed by the way of trial, experiment, comparison, observation, and abstraction. For does it not sometimes occur that, as we pursue a certain end, another nobler still arises before us, as with alchemists who, in seeking gold, find that which is far better and more desirable?" (Gfr. 525). He looks upon the earth as a vast body, living and dependent on the bounty of God. All the moist stars or earths owe their existence to the suns, thus illustrating the doctrine that out of oppositions of heat and cold life is produced.

Speaking of Bruno as "this great man," Tiraboschi writes, "It would be difficult to find his equal, either in his greatness or in his faults." His pages are deluged in ideas and obscured by a chaos of distinctions, and yet his soul, like a particle of celestial fire, is not quenched; and "such is his greatness," writes Saisset, "that his very errors have a character of nobility" (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, Nov. 18, 1847). No means was unfair, no conceit too far fetched to rouse interest in the problems under discussion. The name he chose for himself was the Awakener; and provided he could raise a laugh or startle curiosity, he took no pains either to prune his style or to lay the demon of quotation which came from his vast stores of learning. Manzoni said of Dante that he was master not only of anger but of smiles; and Bruno writes that his readers shall weep or laugh with him, as they may be disciples of Heraclitus or Democritus: for he believed it to be his mission to announce the truth; not to develop and establish it. Students will look in his work in vain for close reasoning, or for that omission of detail which we are told by Schiller is characteristic of the artist; yet of all the men who lived and suffered in that great revival, none had a keener consciousness of the spirit of the time than Giordano Bruno.

He believed a great revolution was in store for the world, and he was never weary in repeating his conviction that the hewn branch should blossom, ancient truths revive, hidden truths be revealed, and that upon the darkness of night a new light should arise and shine upon men (W. ii. 82; *De Trip. Min.*, p. 7).

"Some dispositions," says Lord Bacon in the *Novum Organum*, "evinces an unbounded admiration of antiquity, others eagerly embrace novelty. . . . We have reason to expect much greater things of our own age than from antiquity, . . . and the admiration of antiquity forces man's industry to rest satisfied with present discoveries."

No present discovery and no expert of antiquity con-

tented the restless spirit of Bruno or placed restraint upon his speech. "Calling things," he says, "by their proper names, I say monks are monks, preachers preachers, leeches leeches, and the like with everything in Nature." It was a maxim of the late M. Van de Weyer that a diplomatist may say what he pleases, provided he is careful to observe the form best suited to his purpose; and it is certain that reckless speaking brought the Nolan into many difficulties, and finally drew upon him the unmerited reproach of atheism.

A fresh source of danger to Bruno lay in the fact that he neglected the severe and difficult language of the schools, and, following the advice of Fuller, "*We must speak with the Volge and think with the wise*," wrote in Italian; not caring with what asperity he spoke, nor on whom the lash of correction fell. The style of his Italian works is supple and amusing. They consist of dialogues in which the scheme of the universe is expounded by one speaker, and somewhat clumsily attacked by another. Bold denunciations of false systems of philosophy and religion are intermingled with spirited appeals to that love of the beautiful and the divine which springs perennially in the conscience; and in familiar words, recalling the passionate accents of Luther, men were taught physical truths, and exhorted to prove all things and to hold fast that which was good. Thus his works appealed to a large class of the people, who, as on the Arabian carpet, were carried from sphere to sphere without fatigue; and in passing the limit of the world they were likely to elude their spiritual masters, who did not lose sight of the objectionable and dangerous fact.

Bruno's works in Latin have been called by many critics worthless and obscure, and it is true that to penetrate their secrets is to reach the golden branch which in the Eastern story grew on a mountain top beset by troops of hobgoblins and surrounded by a thicket of thorns. But we learn from Winckelmann that "Philosophy gives her

hand to Art, and breathes into its figures more than ordinary souls ;” and if this be so, more indulgence is due to the philosopher than to ordinary souls, who, in their exertion to overcome the difficulties besetting him, share in his triumph when the crowning achievement of their toil is to attain a lofty and independent philosophy, its own proof of merit and title of nobility.

The course of Bruno’s wanderings may be traced over Europe by his books ; and it was strange that he always succeeded in finding a printer and in producing something new to be printed. In less than eleven years, this wandering scholar, without means, without help, and almost without disciples, was enabled to produce a vast quantity of work ; and his discourses, his writings, and his general activity forced recognition even from his enemies. The age in which he lived, and the many towns in which he was called upon to print his works, presented mechanical difficulties of which modern writers have but a small conception. But, triumphing over every obstacle, he was unceasing in his labours for the truth, although the Inquisition, which understood the truth otherwise, was making ready to reduce him to the silence of the grave.

Some one said of Cæsar that he was “*a monster of diligence* ;” and if Bruno is to be judged by the quantity of work which he produced during a life beset by difficulty and danger, his diligence is as much to be admired as the insurmountable patience with which he endured seven years of captivity, and died at last by fire, a martyr to his convictions. In vain he pleaded, as Voltaire pleaded later, that he spoke not as a theologian, but as a philosopher (“*humainement*”) ; in vain he sought for shelter in a distinction between matters of faith and matters of reason ; for chance, with the “slippery foot” of which Queen Elizabeth wrote to Queen Mary, delivered him up to the Inquisition, that “poniard aimed at the throat of literature,” the yet more deadly enemy of science.

The necessity of enlarging the proportions of the world filled the Catholics with dismay. The innovators had burst asunder the narrow inflexible skies of the Middle Ages, opening a tremendous perspective of immeasurable space. It was sacrilege to teach that the skies were subject to change and motion; that space is the dwelling of law, not of privilege; and that new worlds arise, decay, and submit to the eternal revolutions of life.

The Church shrank from the cold naked vault now that it was no longer peopled with the familiar faces of friends in heaven; she could not soar aloft among forces so far removed from the tapers which smoked on her altars. Nor could she endure the shock of discovering that the miracle of creation was not over. She would not face the fact that a miracle is not less wonderful because it is an everyday occurrence, and she placed herself in opposition, not to sectaries and fanatics, as hitherto, but to the tables of the law written on the face of the living universe. The result of the struggle was certain; but it was slow, and it was not to be accomplished without terrible sacrifices.

Charm is said by Lessing to be beauty in motion, and philosophy may be said to be truth in motion, though, in common with all advances, its forward course is twice fatal—to him who opposes it, and to him who, moving with it, is identified with it and destroyed by its enemies. The latter was the fate of Bruno; and if at first sight his seems a hard lot, and the scheme of Providence inscrutable, the tenor of his writings was always such as to show that he longed for death, which was to make him immortal; while in every law of nature alike that beneficent scheme lies veiled which out of pain and evil brings forth correction, and out of correction progress.

In the convent of St. Dominic at Naples Bruno probably wrote many of his sonnets, putting the finishing touches to them later in England. The *Candle-Bearer*

and the *Noah's Ark* seem to have been written about this period. The latter work was dedicated, or was said to be dedicated, to Pope Pius V., who filled the Papal seat from 1566 to 1572. It was therefore a very youthful production. In the dedicatory epistle of the *Cabal* (W. ii. 255) Bruno speaks of having "consecrated and presented" a book called the *Noah's Ark* to Pope Pius V. It has never been printed, and it has totally disappeared. Berti believes that the book was never really presented to the Pope, and that its contents were probably repeated in *The Cabal of the Pagasean Horse*, the fantastic dedication of which was addressed (without his permission) to the Bishop of Casamarciiano.

The argument of the *Noah's Ark*, so far as it may be gathered from Bruno's vague and scattered allusions, appears to lie in the symbolic representation of all the society of men by means of animals. Within the wooden walls of this ark the whole animal kingdom is collected, and it is governed by the ass, on whom the gods have conferred "pre-eminence and a post in the poop." The ass, according to Bruno, is a symbolic and kabbalistic animal, combining stupidity, hypocrisy, false piety, stupid patience, and ignorance. Allusions to what is called by Oliver Wendell Holmes "the ugly central fact of donkeyism," constantly occur in all Bruno's works. In the *Supper of Ashes*, while speaking in praise of the binary number, Bruno says (W. i. 124), "Two are the numbers in kind—odd and even, whereof the one is masculine, the other feminine. Of two sorts are the Cupids—superior and divine, inferior and vulgar. . . . Of two kind are the asses—domestic and savage."

The *Candle-Bearer* (W. i. 17) opens with an invocation "in the name of the blessed tail of the ass." "I have seen," Bruno says (W. ii. 232), "the monks of Castello in Genoa hold up the tail of an ass, veiled, for the people to kiss, crying, 'Do not handle it; kiss it. This is the sacred relic of that blessed ass which was found worthy

to carry our God from the Mount of Olives to Jerusalem. Worship it, kiss it, and make your offerings to it.”

(This relic is mentioned by Henri Estienne in his *Apology for Herodotus* and by Calvin in his *Treatise on Relics*. The tail of Balaam’s ass was preserved at the Church of St. John Lateran in Rome. But what are these objects compared to the coals which roasted St. Lawrence, three of which in Bruno’s time were adored in three Roman churches; the tablecloth on which the Lord’s Supper was celebrated—this was preserved at Userche in Limousin; a finger of the glove of St. Nicodemus, worshipped in Normandy; and the lamp-oil which healed the blind before the tomb of St. Peter at Rome?)

The *Cabal of the Pagasean Horse*, with its sequel, the *Ass of Cyllene*, is a complete work devoted by Bruno to the ass. He demands (W. ii. 295) which is most worthy, “an asinine man or a humanised ass?” and the “angelic ass of Balaam” (W. i. 216) is treated with the humour of Rabelais or of Heine. “I have never seen an ass,” writes the latter, alluding in a preface to the story of Balaam, “who spake as a man, though I have often met men who, whenever they opened their mouths, spake as asses.” When in the *Expulsion* Jove is about to reform the constellations, he is more complimentary to the symbol of foolishness, which Bruno exalts to the skies. “I dare add nothing,” he says, “to the spotless majesty of those two asses which shine in the space of Cancer, because chiefly of these (both by justice and reason) is the kingdom of heaven, as I shall invincibly demonstrate by most powerful reasons some other time, for I dare not now speak of such an important matter. But I am only grieved and vexed that these two divine animals have been so meanly treated, not having so much as a house of their own to dwell in, but are glad to take lodgings of a retrograde aquatic animal; besides, we have bestowed on them only two little pitiful stars to each one, and these two only of the fourth magnitude” (W. ii. 136).

The ass is treated with the same sardonic humour in the *Supper of Ashes*. "Do you not know that when the son of Kish, called Saul, went seeking the asses, he was on the point of being esteemed worthy, and of being appointed king of the Israelitish people? Go, go and read the first book of Samuel, and you will see that that gentle personage made more account of finding his asses than of being anointed king. Hence every time that Samuel spoke to him of crowning him, he replied to him, 'And where are the asses? the asses, where are they? my father has sent me to find the asses, and do you not wish that I should find my asses?' In conclusion, he would not be quiet until the prophet told him that the asses were found, wishing perhaps to hint that he might be content with having that kingdom, which was equal to his asses, and even more" (W. i. 144). The same work contains (W. i. 149) an allusion to the *Noah's Ark*. "Dost thou not remember, O Nolan, that which is written in thy book entitled the *Noah's Ark*? How, whilst the beasts ranged themselves in order that they might allay the strife born of precedence, in what danger was the ass of losing his pre-eminence, which consisted in his taking a seat in the poop of the ark?" (This curious expression recurs (W. ii. 278) in the *Cabal*, "The intelligence which is the power of the soul, and president in the poop of the soul.") "By what creatures are the noblest of the human race represented at the dreadful day of judgment if it is not by sheep and by goats?"

It will be easy to understand how the rest of the company fared at the hands of the Nolan, since he supposes them capable of submitting to the rule of an ass. That this book could have been dedicated to the Pope is impossible. Pius V. was a Dominican; rigid and inflexible by nature, he was made doubly rigid and inflexible by grace, which had called him to his high estate. He sowed such seeds in the Church as, three months after his death, produced the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Himself an

Inquisitor, he extended to his own people the merciless treatment with which he corrected heretics, saying, "He who would govern must begin by himself." Accordingly, he had the courage to dissolve the debased and dissolute order of the *Umiliati*, and his very look was believed by the Roman people to have the power of conversion. He searched not only into present but into past errors of belief, and sick men lay neglected on their beds by order of the Pope if they did not make confession once in three days. Monks and nuns, bishops and archbishops, received visitations at his hands; society, from the highest to the lowest, was cleansed and renovated by him. Carnesecchi, who had taken part in the first Italian movement towards Protestantism, was delivered up in fetters to the Roman Inquisition, and not all his own reputation nor his connection with royalty could save him from the stake. The Archbishop of Toledo, who, as he himself said, "had converted many, . . . and had no other object than the suppression of heresy," was burnt because he was not orthodox on the doctrine of justification. One *auto-da-fé* followed another, till every germ of heresy was crushed out. It was Pius V. who gave a Catholic leader orders to massacre every heretic that fell into his hands. The Pope had offered to pour out his blood and his treasure, "even to the sacred vessels of the Church," to aid the Catholic cause. Southern Europe was banded together at his instigation against the Turks; and when Lepanto was won, the pious Pope was shown the victory in a trance. Was this the man to accept the dedication of Bruno's book? Moreover, the monk did not leave his convent in the odour of sanctity; and the Papal Inquisitors needed little to put them on his track. If the *Noah's Ark* was in reality dedicated to the Pope, it was in no propitiatory spirit, such as prompts Highlanders to speak of the "*kind gallows*," or Romans to allude to the Goddess Fortune without naming her; and though Bruno might not have allowed any consideration to weigh with him

when the truth, as he understood it, was at stake, it is certain that the Pope could never have accepted such a work, nor is it probable that its author would be permitted to remain peaceably in Italy, which, as a fact, he did not quit till four years after the death of Pope Pius V.

CHAPTER II.

“ By devout prayer that Eternal Spirit can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim with the hallowed fire of his altar to touch and purify the lips of whom He pleases.”—MILTON.

Naples. The Florentine Academy. The Trials at Naples and in Rome. Flight from Rome, 1576. Genoa. Noli. The Sphere. Bruno's Theory of the Stars and Suns. Turin. Venice. Copernicus.

THE wealthy sea-board, that historic shore which was soon to echo with the triumph of Lepanto, groaned under the Spanish tyranny. Alva, who did not scruple to drain Naples of blood and treasure himself, watched the encroachment of all strangers with a jealous eye, and during the French campaign in 1556 observed that “ he had no intention to stake the whole kingdom of Naples against a brocaded coat of the Duke of Guise,” adopting therefore some such pacific measures as those of another Spanish governor of the El Dorado, “ who,” says the historian, “ conciliated the natives by seizing the chiefs, chaining them up, shaving their heads, putting on wigs and doublets, and sending them forth to spread civilisation in the country.”

The Viceroy Granvelle was so detested in the Netherlands that the state papers record his unpopularity; and it was said that the nobles would eat him alive if they caught him. In 1574 he was succeeded by the Marquis de Mondejar, who was said to have increased eightfold his patrimony at the expense of Naples, while advancing each of his seven sons in military and ecclesiastical pre-

ferment. "This new Themistocles," wrote Parrino, "was hated in Italy." The Viceroys at this time had orders to take no steps without consulting Don John of Austria, who was in garrison at Naples, remaining in charge of the southern coasts until 1576, when he left to assume the government of the Netherlands. What effect could such rulers produce on a people made by nature for luxury and slavery? Capua was not far off; the loveliness and sloth of Capua were in the air. "Do not desire," writes Parrino, "the viceroyalty of Naples; to leave it costs us dear." Thus, under the deadly sway of Spain, craft supplanted virtue and piety was overridden by hypocrisy and fanaticism. The vices of a conquered people thrive in a soil but too open to evil influences. No career was open to the Italian subjects of Spain but the army, the magistracy, or the Church; and the Church was too often chosen as a means of advancement on earth, rather than as an unprejudiced and incorruptible guide to heaven.

The people of Naples, credulous by nature, lent themselves to the bigotry of the Government. The older monastic orders increased, and a swarm of new orders appeared. The wealth of the laity changed hands and became clerical, or made its way to Spain. Two-thirds of the revenue of the country was in the hands of the priests, and their influence ran immoderately high. But the powerful and ancient University of Naples, which was founded by Frederick II., stemmed the tide. Distinguished for jurisprudence, it refused its prerogative to no learning; and under its fostering care so many academies sprang up that they were at length forbidden to assemble by the Church.

In the time of Bruno, contemporary historians declared themselves unable to count the poets of Italy. Ippolito di Medici is said to have supported a train of one hundred poets. "Our poets are more," says Zerbo (*Lett. di Diversi*, Venez, 1564, iii. 90), "in number than the sands of the sea, and may fairly overtop Parnassus." But it was not

to these groundlings that Bruno owed any of his remarkable qualities. The philosophic genius of Plato was more to the taste of the learned than the "subtle metaphysics (W. i. p. 255) of the divine Aristotle," "whose desire," says Dante, "is given evermore for grief." It was to the influences of philosophy, and, above all, to the study of Nature, initiated by Porta and Telesio, that Bruno owed his individuality. Of Telesio he speaks (W. i. 250) as "one full of judgment, having waged an honourable war upon Aristotle." The Nolan and the philosopher of Cosenza were ardent followers of the science of Nature, but in method they were radically divided. Telesio, though the opponent of Aristotle, made use of his system; Bruno applied himself to pure reason on inductive principles; he was, moreover, the adherent of the high-minded and liberal teaching of Plato. At that time the two schools of philosophy in Italy were led by Plato and Aristotle. The school of Plato had its headquarters in the Academy of Florence, and spread itself southwards, its ideas advancing with its march. The doctrine of Aristotle was taught by Pomponaccio and others; it was propagated in Northern Italy by the universities of Bologna, Pavia, and Padua. It attained its highest development in the labour of Galileo.

The advance of what may be called spiritualism was due in a great measure to the Platonism of the Florentine Academy. Thanks to the labours of the "hearers" and the "novices," as, with some pedantry, the members were called, and under favour of the Medici, the stimulative qualities of the imagination came into play. At first a natural reaction from the dusty squabbles of the schools, this enthusiastic and poetic erudition soon led to a love of the marvellous, and to a fanciful cry for inspiration, which brought about the downfall of the society. But although its light was at last quenched in the midst of a discreditable mysticism, the Academy did not expire without leaving its mark on the age. Bruno in especial owed

much to the Platonism of the Florentines. There was a similarity between his doctrines and those of Pletho, whose discourses had so powerful an effect upon Cosmo dei Medici, that he established an academy for the sole purpose of cultivating this new and more elevated species of philosophy. The conferences were held in the palace of the Medici at Florence, or in their sombre villa at Careggi, and the teaching spread widely in Italy; while, with the fickleness that was characteristic of the age, Pletho, after his death, was declared to be "a dangerous viper," and his books were burnt, a strange comment on the favour of princes. The influence of his belief, that the stars have souls, that the world is eternal, and that demons are not malignant spirits, may be traced in the works of Bruno. Nor was he unbiassed by the teaching of Ficino, who, half a century earlier, was at the head of the Florentine Academy. An imitator of the Neo-Platonists, and holding that all the philosophic learning of antiquity centered in the Alexandrian schools, Ficino believed that man possesses two souls, one which is sensitive, and the other intellectual—a divine existence breathed into man by the Creator. The sensitive soul, or third essence of the body, is inseparable from it, and is subject to the eternal transformations of matter. The Supreme Being is Unity, into which the intellectual soul can be drawn by a rapt ecstasy, that blessed vision of the Deity which was granted to Plotinus and Porphyry. Perfection, according to Ficino and the Neo-Platonists, is *The One*, and as God is in his essence one, it follows that he is Unity. The Creator could not, however, stoop from his high estate to Nature. He has surrounded his throne with angels, ministers, and fostering spirits, by whom the third essences are created and maintained. Bruno summarily destroyed this fabric of the invention. The souls of Ficino, the third essence, composing and figuring, so to say, rivers, pebbles, and interpenetrating the whole structure of our planet in various qualities and degrees,—these varying essences

Plato. *Timæus*.
 Spinoza. *Ethica*.

were seized and united by Bruno into one, which he called the World-Soul, and which he believed to be the breath and gift of God, as our souls are. The World-Soul is God and Nature at the same time, for in God Nature lives and moves and has its being, as man does; in Nature he is manifested by infinite ways and in infinite worlds, knowing neither time nor space; in Nature the harmony of oppositions is made plain. Thus Bruno, having discovered a new and higher unity, gave himself up to the living power within him, declared war against antiquity, broke through all the traditions of the schools, and called upon men to behold in Nature the image and superscription of its Maker.

Into the still seclusion of St. Dominic he fell like a firebrand. To him the vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity were more irksome than the chivalrous service of courtesy, loyalty, bravery, and fidelity; and his fantastic, restless, and indocile nature soon asserted itself. In Naples, it appears from the documents (No. vii.), he was twice threatened with a trial, first for having given away certain figures and pictures of "St. Catherine of Siena, and perhaps of St. Anthony," after retaining the crucifix only, which caused him to be thought a despiser of the saints; and for having bidden a novice, who was reading the history of the Seven Joys of the Madonna in verse, to throw the book away, and to read some other book, such as the lives of the Holy Fathers. In another document (No. xiii.) this evidence is repeated, with the addition, that it was the master of the novices who twice made an accusation in writing against Bruno, but that the writing was destroyed. The matter evidently was thought of slight moment, or Bruno could not have been permitted to enter the priesthood.

As soon as he became a priest he seemed to have allowed his heretical tendencies the upper-hand of his discretion. A second and more important trial was the result. "I could not tell," he says (Doc. xiii.), "upon

what articles they proceeded against me, except that reasoning one day with Montalcino (who was a brother of our order, a Lombard), in the presence of some other fathers, and he saying that these heretics were ignorant of the language of the schools, I answered that although they did not proceed in their arguments by the rules of logic, yet they declared their meaning conveniently and in the same way as the ancient fathers of the Holy Church; giving the example of the form of heresy of Arius, of whom the scholastics say that he understood the generation of the Son by the act of Nature, and not by will; and the same thing is said in other words by St. Augustine" (probably book vii. of St. Augustine's work *De Trinitate*), "namely, 'that the Son is not of the same substance with the Father, but proceeding from his will like other creatures;' whereupon those fathers fell upon me, saying that I defended heretics, and that I maintained they were learned men."

It is clear, however, that Bruno leant towards the Arian heresy. "That Christ was the Son of God, and born of the ever-blessed Virgin Mary," he says (Doc. xiii.), "I have not doubted, . . . but I have doubted the Divine Incarnation, . . . for the Divinity being by nature infinite (Doc. xxviii.) and humanity finite, the first eternal and the latter temporal, it did not appear to me reasonable . . . that humanity should be thus joined to Divinity."

(Doc. xii.)—"As for the Second Person, I say that I held him in truth to be one in essence with the First, and so with the Third; for being undivided in being, they cannot be unequal, because all the attributes of the Father belong to the Son also, and to the Holy Spirit. I have doubted only how this Second Person could be made flesh and suffer; . . . but I have declared the opinion of Arius to appear less pernicious than it was esteemed and vulgarly understood to be, . . . and I declared that Arius said the Word was neither Creator nor creature, but a medium between the Creator and the creature, as the Word is the

Chrysostom Alex.

medium between the speaker and the hearer; and therefore he is said to be first born before all creatures, not from whom, but by whom all things were created; not to whom, but by whom all things are related, and return to their ultimate end, which is the Father" (Doc. xi.)

"It was on this account," Bruno adds in the same document, "that I was suspected" (of heresy), "and perhaps this, among other things, was the reason. . . . I was first tried in Naples" (Doc. xi. pp. 28-29). His doubts seem to have centred on the actual distinction of the Persons, as though in God he could admit no distinction except the rational and logical distinction of his attributes. He tells his judges plainly that he could not find the doctrine of the Trinity in either Testament. He seems to have held these opinions firmly from his eighteenth year till the date of his trial. "I do not understand," he says (Doc. xi.), "the two Persons separate from the Father. . . . I hold that there is an infinite universe, which is the effect of the infinite Divine power; for I esteem it to be a thing unworthy of the Divine goodness and power that, being able to produce another world than this, and an infinite number of others, it should produce a finite world, so that I have declared there are infinite individual worlds such as this earth, which I hold with Pythagoras to be a planet similar to which is the moon, with other planets and other stars, which are infinite (Doc. xi. p. 26), and that all these bodies, being worlds and without number, constitute the infinite universality in an infinite space, and this is called the infinite universe, in which are innumerable worlds; so that there is a twofold infinity—of the magnitude of the universe, and the multitude of the worlds. *Further, in this universe I place a universal Providence, by virtue of which all things live, grow, move, and attain perfection; and I understand it in two ways—the one in that manner by which the soul is present in the body, the whole of the soul in all the body, and the whole in each and every part; and this I call Nature, the shadow and trace of the Divinity; the*

other, in the ineffable manner in which God by his essence, presence, and power is in all and above all; not as a part, not as a soul, but in a manner not capable of being made plain to the understanding.

“Next, in the Divinity, with the theologians and greater philosophers, I understand all the attributes to be one. I understand three attributes, power, wisdom, and goodness, or mind, intellect, and love; so that all things have first, *cf. Aristotle* their being by reason of mind, then their order and distinct succession by reason of intellect, then their concord and symmetry by reason of love, . . . which I hold to be in all and above all; as nothing is without partaking of being, and being is not without the essence of being; as nothing is beautiful without the presence of beauty, so nothing can be without the Divine Presence, and in this manner, by the way of reason and not by the way of substantial truth, I understand distinction in the Divinity. . . .

“Then with regard to matters of faith, . . . to the individuality of the Divine Persons, to that Wisdom and that Son of the mind called by philosophers the Intellect, and by theologians the Word, who we are to believe took upon him our flesh, I place myself within the bounds of philosophy, and I have not understood this matter, but have doubted, holding it with inconstant faith, though I do not remember to have given signs (of doubt) in writing, or by word of mouth, except indirectly; . . . and I have not been able to comprehend the Third Person and Divine Spirit as I ought, but in the manner of the Pythagoreans and of Solomon, who says in the Book of Wisdom” (c. i. v. 7), “‘The Spirit of God filled the round earth and all that is in it;’ or as Virgil explained the doctrine of the Pythagoreans in the text of the *Æneid*” (B. vi. ver. 724), “and from this Spirit, which is called the Life of the Universe, in my philosophy I understand all life to flow, and the souls of all things which have life and a soul; and this I understand is immortal, there being no death, but division and congregation; which doctrine I understand by a pas-

sage in Ecclesiastes, which says, 'There is no new thing under the sun; . . . the thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done.'"

For these, and similar discordant opinions, the second trial was instituted by the Church. The accuser was no longer the master of the novices, but the provincial of the order, Fra Domenico Vita (Doc. x.) It was either in 1575 or early in the year 1576, when Bruno was once more in the monastery at Naples, that the doubt which had tinged the mind of the novice became negation in the monk. (Further evidence is yielded by the oration delivered by him in 1589 at Helmstedt on the death of the Duke of Brunswick, in which Bruno says that he abandoned his country lest he should be compelled "to submit to a superstitious religion.")

The counts against him reached one hundred and thirty, according to the evidence of his accuser, Mocenigo, the Venetian patrician, given in the first document of the last and fatal trial at Venice. The old matter of the images was revived, and fearing he should be cast into prison (Doc. xiii.), Bruno fled from Naples, which he was never to see again, and sought refuge in Rome in a convent of his order, without, so far as appears from his words, any presentiment of the lurking shadow of death into which he was to enter on that spot at the end of his pilgrimage. "The year following the year of the Jubilee¹ I was in Rome in the convent of Minerva (under obedience to Maestro Sisto da Luca, procurator of the order), whither I went to present myself because I was proceeded against twice at Naples, . . . and the suit was renewed when I went to Rome, with other articles which I do not know; for which reason I left the religious life, and putting off the habit, I went to Noli in the Genoese territory" (Doc. viii.)

Mocenigo, the friend who betrayed Bruno into the

¹ 1576. The Jubilee was celebrated in 1575.

hands of the Inquisition, accuses the monk of having thrown his accuser into the Tiber, and says that he fled away before taking his trial; but as no other evidence of this story is forthcoming, it is probably worthless.

The evidence continues: "I fled from Rome because I had letters from Naples, and was warned that upon my departure from Naples there had been discovered certain books of the works of St. Chrysostom and of St. Jerome, with the forbidden commentaries of Erasmus, which I had used secretly, and I had thrown them away into a private place when I left Naples, lest they should be found; . . . but I have never abjured either publicly or privately, whether for these proceedings or for any other cause; nor have I at any time appeared before any other tribunal of the Holy Office."

The fugitive monk, casting aside his frock and abandoning his name in religion, left Rome secretly, and sought refuge in the territory of Genoa, remaining there, according to his historian Berti, for three days only, in 1576. Sigwart, however, accepts the date with diffidence (*Die Lebensgeschichte Giordano Bruno's*, Tübingen, 1880, p. 8). Under the Doge Prospero Fattinanti, in 1574, disturbances had broken out between the rival factions of the old and the new nobles, supposed to be secretly fomented by agents of France. The king of Spain felt his interests as protector of the Republic to be compromised, and Don John of Austria was dispatched from his neighbouring garrison at Naples to quiet and overlook the town. He placed himself on the watch at Vigevano, and was there, with some brief intervals, from April 1574 till the early spring of 1576, when a brief outburst of civil war cleared the air and was followed by peace.

The lands of the Republic of Genoa were kept intact by the jealousy of its neighbours, who by carefully checking each other's depredations guarded the citizens from all encroachment. Its territory stretched from Monaco to Sarzana, a distance of about a hundred and fifty miles.

In theory it was a republic; but it presented the singular aspect of a republic with a crowned head and a body of nobles. The Golden Book of Genoa contained the names of a powerful and splendid aristocracy, who, ensconced in their towers on the close Mediterranean bays, carried on the work of pirates. This they nominally directed against Turks, Venetians, and other enemies of Genoa, but they were not nice in discriminating between foreign flags and that of their own people when a personal enemy fell in their way. Factions ran high. Interminable feuds between Rampini and Mascherati, between Guelphs and Ghibellines, led at last to constant fighting between the nobles and the people; the first being tyrannous and quarrelsome, and their subjects surly and impatient of control. Foreigners were waylaid and stabbed; foreign soldiers were maltreated and besieged in their homes; the people flew to arms and fought in the streets on the slightest provocation. In 1525 the Genoese rabble had hooted Francis I. when he rode into their city after the battle of Pavia, his fallen grandeur represented by long files of Spanish guards; and this jealousy of foreigners ran so high that in 1574 a decree was issued forbidding them as well as the citizens of Genoa to appear armed in the streets; upon which the contentious populace collected in the town, called on their powerful and warlike neighbours for help, and stood at bay, while Don John of Austria kept watch in the interests of Spain, and whiled away the time with learning dancing and assisting at tournaments.

The legate of the Pope and the ambassadors of France and Spain had retired to Casale to consult on a reform of the Genoese statutes, and meanwhile the town was lacerated by internal dissension and ravaged by a pestilence. A story is told by Bacon of a Prince of Orange who, being dangerously wounded by a Spanish boy, could find no means to staunch the blood but by men's thumbs, succeeding one another for the space of two days, and at last the blood retired. Much the same process was applied by the

three potentates in attendance on the hills of Genoa, and by their united efforts the blood shed in the city was stopped and order at last restored.

Meanwhile Bruno, whose living depended on such peaceful and scholarly appliances as a printing-press, a bookseller, and a good school in which to teach, withdrew from the scene of dissension to Noli, a little town on the coast, seven miles from Savona and four from Finale. Noli stands at the head of the gulf which bears its name, imprisoned between two mountain chains, which end on one side with the Capo di Vado, and on the other with the singular rocky peak of the Capo di Noli. The town is surrounded by fine old walls crowned with towers, and it still contains a church founded in the eighth century, with other monuments of that youth of the world which is called antiquity. One of those happy cities which has no history, Noli remained free and prosperous, paying five sequins a year for protection to its great neighbour Genoa, and preserved for ever from oblivion by Dante (*Purgatory*, canto iv.), who, in the spirit, had descended the craggy hill to the rift in which the little city is situated. Three centuries later, Bruno, coming probably by water, the cheapest way, arrived in the town, and supported himself "by teaching grammar to the boys and reading the sphere¹ (astronomy) with certain gentlemen" (Doc. viii.-ix.), remaining in this humble office four or five months.

The sphere, as it was technically called in the sixteenth century, while dealing with a science which, so far as we know, is without limits or termination, did its best to supply both to the universe. The earth was supposed to stand still in the core or centre of a moving crystal sphere, as a fly might hang in a bottle, receiving circular motion from without. The heavens were held to be round like the earth, because the circle is a perfect figure, having

¹ "My dear brother," Sir Philip Sydney writes to his brother Robert, "I think you understand the sphere. If you do, I care little for any more astronomy in you."—*Zonch's Memoirs of Sir P. Sidney*, p. 171.

neither beginning nor end, and also because of all bodies, the sphere, as containing the greatest volume in relation to its circumference, can support the greatest number of living creatures. To this was allotted "the best of all possible motions, the motion of uniform circular rotation." This immense ball in the inner part of heaven was surrounded by nine or ten zones of transparent crystal, forming so many hollow spheres or layers; in these the earth was fixed like a tulip-root in its outer surrounding envelopes. The whole of these were supposed to roll in a mass from east to west round an axis passing through the centre of the earth; the sun, the moon, and the seven planets, each in its separate enclosure of celestial spheres, had a contrary motion to that of the earth; but such obscurity and contradiction were caused by these inventions that other inventions, called "inequalities," were resorted to to make things plain, on which fresh difficulties arose.¹

Such were the views prevailing at the time of Bruno. Founded on the teaching of Aristotle, they were embodied by one Sacrobosco, an Englishman, in a primer on astronomy which was commonly received in all schools (*Sphæra Mundi*, 1st edit, Ferrara, 1472; Venice, 1490; Wittemberg, 1540, preface by Melanchthon; Leyden, 1626).

Even thus early in his career Bruno's teaching must have differed widely from that in vogue. "The earth moves," he says; "it turns on its own axis and it moves round the sun." A truth which is now the common property of every school-child was then the battle-cry of progress, and Aristotle, "the familiar spirit of Nature," as he is called by Bruno, "the butcher (*carnefice*) of the other divine philosophers" (W. ii. 403), was at the head of the opposition.

¹ So opposed were these inventions to Nature, that, on learning the Aristotelian scheme of the zones King Alphonso of Castile exclaimed, "Had the Creator of the universe sought my advice the world would be maintained in better order."

A complete break with the Church was the only possible result. Extremes meet; and the boy who began his career as a monk, burning with the fervour of mysticism and seeking in the convent that peace which the world cannot give, rebelled against the fetters in which his reason was placed by the Church. Passionate and enthusiastic in his search for truth, he smarted under the indignity of beholding his country-people adore the tail of a donkey at Castello, or sit in congress to decide whether a mouse which had devoured the Sacrament was to be killed or to be worshipped. Added to these minor causes of discontent, the falsity of the Aristotelian scheme of the universe filled him with contempt and incredulity, and finally sapped his allegiance to Catholicism. The movement of the earth was an essential necessary truth; and with Bruno, to feel truth and to proclaim it were one. Space alone, he says, is destitute of all power, virtue, and operation. Movement is a sovereign law of the universe. Why deny it to the earth? Despising "the vile imagination of the figure of the sphere and the diversity of heavens" (W. ii. 8), he taught that the earth is of the same matter and form as the other stars; every created thing which moves and lives constitutes a living being; a star performing its appointed course in the heavens with wisdom and exactitude holds the rank of an intelligent being. (This was the view of Plato, who, in his *Timæus*, says that the world is an animal; and Voltaire, repeating the words of Plato, adds, "Thus the nature of this immense animal, which is called the world, is eternal.")

"The earth," says Bruno (*Infinity*, dialogue iii.), "is no more heavy than the other elements; all the parts and particles are moved and change place and disposition, as do the blood, humours, spirits, and insensible particles which perpetually flow in and out of us and in the other lesser animals. . . . These globes are sustained by infinite ether, in which this our animal freely runs and keeps to his prescribed course, as the rest of the stars do to theirs." And in another place he speaks of "those sensible com-

/ *Elms*/ *St. Th. Vaughan*

pounded bodies, which are so many animals or worlds in this spacious field called air or sky." The life of these vast worlds Bruno holds to be (W. i. 166) "not only capable of sensation, but intellectual; not only intellectual, as ours is, but perhaps in a higher degree." The stars are "those sons of God (W. i. 174) who shouted for joy at the creation; the flaming heralds, his ministers, and the ambassadors of his glory" (W. i. 130). And later he writes, "There are innumerable worlds like ours, throned and sphered amidst the ether, and pursuing a course in heaven like ours; and they are called . . . runners, ambassadors, messengers of Nature, a living mirror of the infinite Deity, . . . having the principle of intrinsic motion, their own nature, their own soul, their own intelligence. . . . For it is right and convenient for themselves, and for the effect of the most perfect cause, that the motion of the heavenly bodies should be natural and from within."

The stars are "a living mirror of the Infinite Deity," not the Deity itself; they are "the effect of the most perfect cause;" their souls are in his as our souls are; and they are to be understood as distinct from "the outer upholder and providence" (W. ii. 66), by whom they are preserved from dissolution. "By this knowledge we are loosened from the chains of a most narrow dungeon, and set at liberty to rove in a most august empire," he writes (W. ii. 14); "we are removed from presumptuous boundaries and poverty to the innumerable riches of an infinite space, of so worthy a field and of such beautiful worlds. . . . Thus the excellency of God is magnified and the grandeur of his empire made manifest. . . . This is that philosophy which opens the senses, which satisfies the mind, which enlarges the understanding, and which leads man to the only true beatitude, . . . for it frees him from the solicitous pursuit of pleasure and from the anxious apprehensions of pain, . . . seeing that everything is subject to a most good and efficient cause."

Upanishad.

Mallon.

If, therefore, the universe is infinite, why place the earth at its centre? The sun, the "father of life" (W. ii. 51), is the centre of our world; but the centre of the infinite universe is in all things. "The motion of this starry earth in which we dwell is caused by (W. ii. 51) its own intrinsic principle, its proper soul and nature, . . . and it makes its revolution about the sun and about its own centre; which, if we rightly understand, will open the door of the intelligence to the true principles of natural things, and we shall march swiftly by the way of truth, hidden, since this cloudy night of sophistry followed upon the day of antique wisdom, beneath the veil"—(here Bruno uses the words of Dante, *Inf.* ix. 60, "laquale ascosa sotto il velame di tante . . . immaginazione")—"of sordid and bestial imaginations, and concealed by the injury of time and by vicissitude."

"Of these stars (*Acrotismus* 97, p. 25) none is in the middle (although the Church and Ptolemy have taught that our earth is the centre of all things), but the universe is immeasurable in all its parts." "For the centre of the universe is neither the sun" (C. 4, *X. Articuli*, Art. 160) "nor in the sun, neither the earth nor in the earth, nor in any place whatever." "Every being is its own centre, around which it moves" (*De Immenso*, book vii. p. 600). "Therefore there are as many centres as there are worlds and stars, and these in number are infinite." "They," the worlds, "are free in space" (Gfr. 14, 159), "attracting each other, and moving by their own inward spiritual power." ("The great law of Nature which regulates the movement of the heavenly bodies is the law of attraction."—*Professor Ball*, Meeting of the British Association, Canada, 1884.) "Lift up thy soul from this earth to the stars and worlds, and learn to understand that in all places there . . . are the same order, the same form, the same movement. Only one bereft of his reason could believe that those infinite spaces tenanted by vast and magnificent bodies, many of

Milton - which are certainly intrusted with a higher destiny than ours, are designed only to give us light or to receive the clear shining of the earth."¹ "It is not reasonable (Gfr. 384) to believe that any part of the world is without a soul, life, sensation, and organic structure, and it is as foolish to believe that there are no beings, nor minds, nor possibilities of thought beyond the objects of our own senses."

We pass now into the province of conjecture. The suns are inhabited, as well as the surrounding earths (W. ii. 54); "the fixed stars, those magnificent flaming bodies (W. i. 234), are inhabited worlds and most excellent powers, which seem and are innumerable worlds, not greatly unlike the world in which we live." "The sun" (Gfr. 379), "our nearest fixed star, is of a certainty a more divine organism than our earth; but how and in what manner, it is not within our province to discover: in any case, its conditions of life are different to ours." And under no circumstances are we to believe that the matter of our organic substance can give rise to one and to no other kind of life. "Reason would have us know" (Gfr. 384) "that the sun surpasses us, and that as it is a dwelling-place full of glory, so the life within it infinitely excels all forms of life on earth." From this infinite All, full of beauty and splendour, from the vast worlds which circle above us to the sparkling dust of stars beyond, the conclusion is drawn that there are an infinity of creatures, a vast multitude which, each in its degree, mirrors forth the splendour, wisdom, and excellence of the Divine beauty (W. ii. 361-398). Beyond these, again, there may be, and no doubt there are, an infinity of wonders which the mind of man is not able to conceive (*De Immenso*, 635), "the scope and final cause of the whole being the perfection of the universe" (W. i. 237).

¹ "Who has persuaded man," says Montaigne, "that this admirable motion of the infinite sea, were established and have continued for so many centuries for his use and service?"

The solar system was cleansed from the cobwebs of scholasticism by Copernicus, for whom Bruno had a profound admiration (*Oratio Valedic.*, W. i. 127; *De Mon.*, 327), although he affirmed that the Copernican system was more concerned with mathematics than Nature (i. 127), and Copernicus "a geometrician rather than a philosopher" (*De Immenso*, 343). But in espousing the new doctrines Bruno added to them, surpassing his master in boldness and vigour of thought. The centre, which Copernicus believed to be immovable and in the sun, Bruno placed in sun after sun, even in the outermost parts of the universe and in infinity. And perhaps his greatest achievement lies in his application of the discoveries of Copernicus and his extension of them to the whole of the universe. "Space," he says, "is not in heaven; heaven is in space" (Gfr. 65). "Space is one and infinite in continuity" (Gfr. 74). "This philosophy" (W. i. 175) "not only contains the truth, but favours religion more than any other kind of philosophy." Moreover, he was the first to teach that the sun turns on its own axis (*De Immenso*, 305), that the earth is flattened at the poles; he insisted that the atmosphere is an integral part of the earth (*ib.* 433), and that all the fixed stars are suns (Gfr. 24), having their own system of visible and invisible planets (*De Immenso*, 166). The cold stars or planets require the warmth of the suns; the suns in their turn require the coolness and dewy refreshment yielded by the earths; and thus mutually sustained and cherished, they pursue their course and set forth the glory of their Divine Master. This is scarcely the place in which to speak of the doctrine of evolution, first foreshadowed by him; of his theory of instinct, which is fully borne out by modern science; and of his appreciation of the purely phenomenal value of the senses. He holds the universe to be infinite and boundless (*senza margine*, W. i. 268). "If," he says (*De Immenso*, 14), "in the eyes of God there is but one starry globe; if the sun and moon and all creation are

made for the good of the earth and for the welfare of man, humanity may be exalted, but is not the Godhead abased? Is not this to straiten and confine his providence? What! is a feeble human creature the only object worthy of the care of God? No; the earth is but a planet; the rank she holds among the stars is by usurpation; it is time to dethrone her. The ruler of our earth is not man, but the sun, with the life which breathes in common through the universe. Let the earth eschew privilege; let her fulfil her course and obey. Let not this contemplation dispirit man, as if he thought himself abandoned by God; for in extending and enlarging the universe he is himself elevated beyond measure, and his intelligence is no longer deprived of breathing space beneath a sky, meagre, narrow, and ill-contrived in its proportions. And better still; if God is everywhere present in the whole of the world, filling it with his infinity, and with his immeasurable greatness; if there is in reality an innumerable host of suns and stars, what of the foolish distinction between the heaven and the earth? Dwellers in a star, are we not comprehended within the celestial plains and established in the very precincts of heaven?" The infinite in extension, the infinite in the universe, this is the *Ultima Thule* (W. i. 128) of the philosopher of Nola.

After four or five months spent in this revolutionary teaching, Bruno left Noli for Savona, where he remained a fortnight (Doc. ix.) Then making his way towards the Alps, he went to "the metropolis of Piedmont, the delicious city of Turin" (W. ii. 218).

At that moment Turin was free from pestilence; under the sage administration of Emanuel Filiberto, it was unravaged by war, industry and the arts flourished, and the schools, which had undergone a complete reform, were earning justly merited laurels. But it was an inhospitable town. Tasso, when he presented himself at its doors, poor and in misery, his clothes dilapidated, and fever

burning in his veins, was driven away, and taken for one suffering with the plague; and it was with the utmost difficulty that he could obtain a morsel of bread. The contrast between the poets was remarkable enough, for the one died in the odour of sanctity and the other at the hands of the Inquisition; but in this at least their fortunes met. Bruno, not finding “entertainment” to his satisfaction, quitted Turin at once, and went by the Po to Venice.

Under his baptismal name of Filippo he took a lodging in the Frezzaria with a person employed at the arsenal. A visitation of the plague had begun in Venice in August 1575, and though ending in December of that year, it reappeared in the spring of 1576, and raged until the winter, having carried off forty thousand people. It is scarcely likely that Bruno, however high his courage, would have addressed himself to a plague-stricken city in order to gain a living either by teaching or writing. The schools in time of plague were closed, the printing-presses ceased their labours, and few booksellers cared to remain and drive a trade depending on luxury and leisure for support. Moreover he says, “While I was in Venice I caused (Doc. ix.) a small book to be printed, entitled *Of the Signs of the Times*, and I had it printed in order to gather together a little money for my sustenance.” Now, in time of plague, war, or commercial distress, the traffic in pictures is among the first to suffer; next are gems; and books come third on the list. Neither patron nor printer was likely to remain behind at such a time; and therefore Bruno’s visit to Venice probably took place in the spring of 1577, when the pestilence was over.

As soon as it was finished, the book was presented by Bruno to Father Remigius of Florence (Doc. ix.), a Dominican distinguished for his version of the Psalter of David, with other learned works; and being approved, it was printed, either without the author’s name or with the name of Filippo Bruno. Though this work has completely disappeared, it was accepted by the pious Father

Remigius, and was no doubt orthodox in its teaching. It may have been occupied with the doctrine of Lully, "that uncultured hermit inspired by a divine genius" (Gfr. 634); for Bruno was taught in his youth by a man from Ravenna to connect things, such as the virtues, metals, mythological names, and so on, in a certain alphabetic order; and from this small beginning he worked out that art of thought and memory to which a great part of his life was dedicated.

From the idol of the mystics, Lully, to the splendid and mysterious realities of Copernicus was more than a step; it was a revolution. Bruno's faith was unshaken in a religion which should bring the spirits of men out of the depths of ignorance and error (*De Immenso*, 339) into that infinite and exalted region where is the light of light and the very springs of Divinity.

The Infinite, so to say, circles within his starry system, even in its darkest and most mysterious spaces. Carried on by the torrent of universal harmony, he was, as Novalis said of Spinoza, one drunk not with new wine, but with God; and he beheld the Infinite as in a mirror in all the abounding parts of the creation. But he confessed without hesitation before his judges opinions contrary to the Church—and indeed his works lay open to the judgment of his accusers together with the religious philosophy or philosophic religion which he professed. "A time would come," he writes (W. i. 20), "a new and desired age, in which the gods should lie in Orcus, and the fear of everlasting punishment should vanish." (See also *De Trip. Min.*, p. 94.) In his vast and comprehensive view of the universe, the earth shrinks to a mere vanishing-point rocking in space. Where amid the whirling of the spheres could any resting-place be found for the throne of God and for the rock of St. Peter? The destroying anger of the Church fell upon this bold innovator. Kepler had recoiled (*Kepler*, i. 688, vi. 136) from speculations as bold. Teaching not so revolutionary was abjured by the septuagenarian.

Galileo on his knees. "The starry Galileo and his woes" have formed a subject for poetry, and it is pathetic to remember that Galileo's eyes became blind with gazing at the sun, as Beethoven grew deaf in the midst of music. But how little thought or sympathy has in the lapse of ages fallen to the lot of Bruno. His unceasing labours in philosophy, the ardent soul that lighted him on his way to death, the profound faith which gave to the natural philosopher the intuition of a seer, these are as worthy of monumental alabaster as the patient investigations of the inventor of the telescope. But for two centuries the name of Bruno has lain hidden under the dust of the schools or the unmerited reproach of atheism, while characters of less distinction are embalmed in history and celebrated in verse.

"The True is the object," says Hegel, "not only of conception and feeling, as in religion, and of intuition, as in art, but also of the thinking faculty ; and this gives us Philosophy. This is consequently the highest, freest, and wisest." An "earnest beholder of the history of Nature which is written in our minds" (W. ii. 12), Bruno aspires to be a "true natural philosopher" and to discover the "true principles of natural philosophy." His aims were thus of the "highest, freest, and wisest," and his struggles to accomplish them constitute his title to remembrance. "There is no virtue," says Dryden, "which derives not its original from truth, as, on the contrary, there is no vice that has not its beginning from a lie ;" and the Truth, that supreme essence which is one with being and unity (W. ii. 181), was Bruno's divine object (W. ii. 122), "the fount of ideas, the ocean of all truth and goodness ;" (W. ii. 343) while the "first Intelligence, which is pure and absolute light" (W. ii. 365), in its harmony and constancy rose high above the confusion of his endeavours and lends lustre to his name.

CHAPTER III.

“An age is justified by its existence ; for its existence is by the decree and the judgment of God. The human race, like the individual, lives by faith ; but the conditions of faith are renewed.”—VICTOR COUSIN.

Geneva, May 20, 1579. Lyons. Toulouse.
1579-80.

AFTER a stay of a month or six weeks, Bruno quitted Venice for Padua. There he met with some brothers of St. Dominic, who persuaded him to resume the dress of his order for the greater convenience of travelling. He then went through Brescia (Gfr. 578) to Bergamo, where he caused a new habit of cloth to be made, over which he laid the scapulary which he had retained on his flight from Rome, and thus equipped he went by Milan along the way to Lyons (Doc. ix.); and when he reached Chambery he lodged in the convent of the order, where, seeing he was treated with coolness, he spoke with an Italian father, who said, “I warn you that in these parts you will receive no sort of civility, and the farther you go the less you will find ;” on which Bruno turned off into the road to Geneva, then under the rule of Beza.

“Man,” says Jacobi, “experiences a natural desire either to find his thoughts in other minds, or to instil them ;” and the stronghold of Calvinism was no exception to the rule. Calvin had been dead fifteen years, but his spirit had descended to his successor. “When I consider what aptitude this little corner has for promoting Christ’s king-

dom, I am naturally solicitous to keep my hold of it," says Calvin—an opinion in which all possessors of little corners will be found to agree.

"Truth," says Montaigne, "on one side of the Pyrenees is a lie on the other;" and the heresy of Calvin was in his own city a terrible and vindictive orthodoxy. Geneva was called "Canaan" and the "refuge of all the poor and afflicted children of God" by Beza; but those who were children of God in Geneva were sons of Belial in Paris. "Calvin could not endure," says Gribaldi of Padua, "that there should be one man in Geneva a heretic in religious matters." "Heretics were forced," writes a friend of Beza, "to depart the country." The Genevese magistracy inspired as much terror in heretics as the Council of the Inquisition. Beza administered "the just judgments of God on the wicked" (Beza, *Life of Calvin*) with the unflinching spirit of his master, whose dying instructions were to "proceed roundly" with the heretics.

Arrived in this uncompromising city of the saints, Bruno was registered on the list of Italian fugitives in 1579. He went to lodge at an inn. "Shortly after," he says, "a Neapolitan, the Marchese di Vico, who lived in the city, asked me who I was (Doc. ix.), and whether I was there to remain and to profess the religion of that place; to whom, after I had given account of myself and why I had quitted my order, I added that I did not intend to profess the religion of that city, for I did not know what religion it was, and that I was there to dwell in peace and safety, and for no other end; and he persuaded me at all events to put off the habit which I wore." Bruno then assumed a secular dress; and the Marchese di Vico, with some other Italians, made him a present of a sword, a hat, a cloak, and other things, without extending their charity to trunk hose, which Bruno made for himself out of stuff that he had worn. Thus apparelled, and his tonsure, it may be supposed, having disappeared, the Nolan sought work in one of the printing-houses as a corrector of proofs—a post

which eminent students of that age never thought beneath their dignity, and to which, when on their travels, they looked usually for support.

Di Vico was a convert on whom the Calvinists had reason to plume themselves, for his mother was the sister of Pope Paul IV. The Marchese had received his first instruction in the new religion from Juan de Valdes, the Spanish reformer, who established himself for some time in Naples. Di Vico was looked upon by Calvin as a prop to the Church; he accepted the dedication of Calvin's Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians; and no stranger of any mark passed through Geneva without paying his respects to the Italian noble, who was never recognised by his own family after he joined the Reformed religion. Like the Gauls, "of whom," says the simple historian, "*the best men commonly forsook their wives when they were ordained,*" Di Vico, on embracing the Reformed religion, had left his wife and children; and when he bestirred himself to find employment for Bruno, it was naturally in the expectation that he would join the army of the faithful. He had already, no doubt at the instance of Di Vico, heard Niccolo Balbani of Lucca preach the Gospel and read the Epistles of St. Paul; for Balbani was pastor of the Italian congregation in Geneva, and on the death of the noble proselyte in 1586, his memoir was written by his fellow-sojourner in a strange land, and was translated into Latin by no less a person than Beza himself. But neither the sermons of Balbani nor those of the other French and Italian preachers in the city produced any effect on Bruno, who, as he remained unconverted, was given to understand that without accepting the Calvinistic doctrines he was not to expect any further succour, nor could he be so much as permitted to remain in the city. The natives, moreover, were of a temper not promising in future advancement to those who did not espouse the cause of Calvin. They were called some years later by Casaubon "swindlers, rascally brigands, pretentious

Pharisees, diabolical hypocrites, and mock pietists;" and without going to these lengths, the fact that Aristotle¹ was as indispensable to the town as the Bible must in itself have rendered life impossible to his outspoken Italian opponent.

Like the philosopher Campanella, and like the great Savonarola, Bruno owed much to the Dominicans. The doctrine of the order was identified with the name of Aristotle. He barely escaped canonisation; he was looked upon as the forerunner of the Messiah; he was said to participate in the Divine infallibility and infinity; he personified the splendour of scholastic learning. His dominion was as stable as that of the Holy See itself, and to deny his doctrine was to open the door to heresy. To the scholastics of the Middle Ages the highest ideal of the human mind was attained when the sublime philosophy of Christianity was added to the accomplished art of Aristotle. They overlooked or did not understand the dualism taught by him, together with those doctrines of God's providence and man's immortality which are essentially at variance with Christian teaching. Nor is their want of comprehension wonderful when the difficulty of studying Aristotle at that period is remembered. Averroes, who is called by Petrarch "a mad dog barking against the Church," declares that he read Aristotle forty times over before he succeeded in perfectly understanding him. At the one-and-fortieth time light broke upon him, though he might well have spared his labour if it produced the "*speculative hidden atheism*" of which he is accused by Victor Cousin.

Whether Bruno became acquainted with the works of Aristotle at second, third, or fourth hand does not appear. They were translated by Averroes into Arabic from a Latin translation of a Hebrew translation of a com-

¹ "The Genevese have decreed," says Beza (Epistle 34), "once and for ever, that they will never, neither in logic nor in any other branch of learning, turn away from the teaching of Aristotle."

mentary fabricated out of an Arabic translation of the Syrian translation of a Greek text.

It is probable that Bruno knew little Greek; and Buhle has remarked that his accents are ill-placed, and that he could not spell. Indeed, neither then nor a hundred and fifty years later was Greek essential to a learned education. "I never learned Greek," said the Principal of the University of Louvain to Oliver Goldsmith, "and I don't find that I have ever missed it. I have had a doctor's cap and gown without Greek; I have ten thousand florins a year without Greek; I eat heartily without Greek; and, in short," he continued, "as I don't know Greek, I do not believe there is any good in it." Passed through half-a-dozen translations, exposed to the heat of religious controversy, and transfused with the sunless and mystical spirit of Oriental lore, the Aristotelian philosophy reached the Middle Ages. "The ancients," says Bayle, "would laugh aloud did they but know all that is attributed to them;" and if Aristotle could have heard mediæval scholars dispute upon his philosophy, he might have said he was Aristotle but no Aristotelian; as Wilkes thanked God he had never been a Wilkite.

Plato was treated with the same license. Bruno, though nurtured upon the doctrines of Aristotle, did not hesitate to attack them at a time when to do so was to stir up persecution and to expose himself to sore trouble. Though others called in question the logic of the Stagyrite—his least vulnerable point—Bruno confined himself to natural philosophy, haughtily rebuking the presumption which caused him to usurp the title of a natural philosopher (*W.* ii. 281). "For he is one holding himself apart from Nature and building on vain imagination" (*W.* i. 243-259, ii. 33). His "vile fancies and the vanity of his arguments" (*W.* ii. 8) on the scheme of the universe roused an inextinguishable spirit of opposition in the adherent and successor of Copernicus. The contempt with which Bruno received the Aristotelian system did

not stop with the master; it was extended to his disciples. In an allegory Aristotle himself is made to wear the shape of a "gross and lazy ass" (W. ii. 281). In his theories on the nature and substance of things, on motion and the universe, he is accused of being "madder than madness." His disciples are said to be those "to whom Aristotle appears to be a miracle of Nature; whereas they who have the poorest understanding and comprehend him least are they who magnify him most" (W. ii. 11). In another place the Peripatetics of the time are compared to two blind beggars at the gate of the archbishop's palace in Naples, one of whom called himself a Guelph and the other a Ghibelline, without knowing why, till they were found fighting by a bystander, who asked them what they meant by a Guelph and a Ghibelline, when the one could not answer at all, and the other said, "My master, Signor Pietro Costanzo, is a Ghibelline" (W. i. 133). "In the same way men fight for and against Aristotle."

Bruno's opposition was purely grounded on Nature. He speaks of Aristotle as "a prophet and diviner (W. i. 192), who, though mixing some of his own errors with the divine frenzy, is yet chiefly and for the most part a follower and proclaimer of the truth. But he did not comprehend local motion, which is the principle of all the dispositions and qualities of the earth." Moreover, Bruno borrows from Aristotle his definitions of possibility and reality, which are described at length in the dialogue of the *Cause*; and his definition and division of the cause itself is clearly of Peripatetic origin. "Let us imitate Aristotle," he pleads in his letter to the rector of the Paris University, "who withdrew himself of his own instance from the philosophers who were his father's forerunners and masters. By the same right we withdraw from Aristotle; following his example, we depart from a solitude which is now remote from the company of philosophers. Let us follow the counsels of the leader, remembering that each one of us may become subject to

ignorance and error. The title of innovator which is bestowed upon us is not ignominious. There is no doctrine in antiquity which was not at one time new; and if age is the mark of truth, our century is fuller of dignity than the century of Aristotle, since the world has now attained a greater age by twenty centuries."

The self-contained power and the reserve of moral force so characteristic of Calvin, added to the respect professed by the Calvinists for Aristotle, explains not only Bruno's reception at Geneva, but also his disappearance from that complete and comfortable community. Those who were to dwell in peace among the Genevese must not only add to their knowledge, but be added to them; he who was not with them was against them; for in them independence of spirit ran so high that they could brook it in none but themselves.

Bruno met their opposition in no conciliatory humour. If he had not already declared war on Aristotle, his mind was preparing itself for the conflict; while on the more vital subject of religion, a chasm never to be bridged divided the five points of Calvin from the Nolan's warm natural sense of justice and from the optimism of his philosophy. Against the doctrine of original sin he held with Plato that evil is a defect of good, as, for instance, that justice being the excellence of the soul, injustice is the defect of the soul. The world he taught to be "good, in a good state, and for a good purpose . . . a most high vestige, an infinite representation of him . . . that can neither be imagined, nor conceived, nor comprehended" (W. ii. 14), and he was at no pains to conceal his contempt for the doctrines of election, particular redemption, effectual calling, and perseverance of the saints. "There is a dastardly race of pedants," he wrote (W. ii. 146), "who, doing no good thing, either by the divine law or by the laws of Nature, esteem themselves, and desire to be esteemed, religious and pleasing to the gods, saying that though it is well to do good and evil to

do wrong, we can only be made acceptable to the gods, not on account of the good we may do or the evil we leave undone, but by hoping and believing according to the catechism. . . . They speak evil of works, yet they live on the works of others; . . . and while saying that all their desire is for invisible things (which neither they nor any others truly comprehend), they profess that destiny is immutable, and that it produces these invisible things by means of certain inward affections and imaginations; with all of which the gods are infinitely entertained. . . . Such men merit persecution, and they ought to be exterminated, for they are pests, and deserve no more mercy than wolves, bears, and serpents. To cleanse the world of them is an honourable and meritorious office." His views on predestination are to be gathered from a passage in the *Expulsion* (W. ii. 152), in which, while deriding the Calvinistic theory, he yet maintains that all, "even the poorest trifles" (155), are under the infinite providence of God, although his ways are not as our ways (156) nor is his knowledge like ours. "Faith and opinion shall be approved (164), but they shall never be made the equal of works and deeds; so with confession and profession, when they tend to amendment and abstaining from evil." And that he maintained this opinion is clear from the record of his trial, in which he says, "For I have always held, and I hold, that works added to faith are necessary to salvation; this is proved by my book entitled the *Cause*, and by the first dialogue of *Infinity*." In his valedictory discourse at Wittenberg, while publicly pronouncing an eulogium on Luther, he was ominously silent with regard to Calvin; and on his trial he admits that he was favoured by the Lutherans at Wittenberg, and not by the Calvinists, on whose accession to power he quitted the town. The Calvinists no doubt caused Bruno to leave Geneva also, and the remembrance of Servetus, who was burnt twenty-three years before for denying the Trinity, may have hastened his departure from the shores of Lake Lemán.

In the words of Madame de Stael, "*Il est devenu trop grand poisson pour notre lac*;" and when, from the banks of the Thames, he reviewed the whimsical career of superstition, it was to deride the "impure Puritanism" of the Reformers, whom he called *Deformities*.

The documentary evidence given by Bruno at his trial in Venice must now be supplemented by the records discovered in the archives of Geneva,¹ and printed by the learned and courteous archivist, M. Théophile Dufour. In the Venetian documents Bruno says he was two months in Geneva, although he must have remained four or five months in that city. The wandering scholar spent sixteen years in different countries, often in peril of his life, and that his memory is not altogether without a flaw is proved by small errors in his evidence. For instance, he was in Paris three years, not five (Doc. ix.) The "Supper of Ashes" took place, not in the house of Castelnau (Doc. xiii.), but in that of Fulke Greville. It may be

¹ *Giordano Bruno à Genève. Documents inédits publiés par Théophile Dufour, directeur des archives de Genève.* Genève, imp. Schuchardt, 1884. An entertaining pamphlet, *La Légende Tragique de Jordano Bruno, par Théophile Desduits, Professeur de Philosophie au Lycée de Versailles* (Paris, Thorin, 1885), appears to be suggested by the work of M. Théophile Dufour. M. Théophile Desduits is the author of a work on Metaphysics, and on the Philosophy of Kant, both of which were crowned by the French Institute. An interesting and learned examination of this pamphlet, written by Mr. R. C. Christie, appeared in *Macmillan's Magazine* for October 1885. M. Desduits, evidently an ardent Catholic, seeks to prove that Bruno did not suffer martyrdom, on the authority of the two antiquated writers Haym and Quadrio, who declared Bruno to have been burnt in effigy. "Perhaps," says Clement, "they considered fire too hot for an

enthusiast, and they thought the Inquisition might be contented to burn his likeness and to send the original into a madhouse." M. Desduits revives the foolish charge of Scioppius that the *Eruption* was "a ferocious book written by Bruno against the Pope," although Scioppius is called "that base slanderer," and his letter "an atrocious calumny." "What!" cries the author, "was the severity of the ecclesiastical authority to be compared to that of the lay tribunals? Who may lay claim to the greater number of victims—Rome, or France, Spain, or England? Did not Vanni, when he was accused of atheism before the terrible Parliament of Toulouse, request as a favour to be judged by the Inquisition?" The conclusion is drawn that "there is no ground for belief in the tragical fate of the philosopher." The author has forgotten that all doubt on the point is removed by the three *Arvizi* lately discovered in the Vatican Library.

objected that the memory of a prisoner before the Inquisition was likely to prove treacherous on questions of adherence to the heretic Churches. The objection has its weight, though it is doubtful whether Bruno, who was at no pains to hide his own heresies (*Doc. xi.*), but confessed them openly, would have cared to prevaricate had he embraced the religion of Geneva. He was a consistent hater of Calvin; and it was scarcely likely that immediately after freeing himself from the irksome restraint of a religious life into which he was born, he should at once embrace another, foreign to his education and directly opposed to all his known principles.

We learn, then, from these newly discovered documents that the entry of Filippo Bruno in the records of the university took place on the 20th May 1579. Until the discovery of M. Dufour set all doubt at rest, the exact date of Bruno's stay at Geneva was uncertain, in consequence of the vague and uncertain data on which earlier historians were compelled to base their researches. In 1650 Vincent Burlamachi, the then deacon and treasurer of the Italian Church, made a copy of the archives, which contained a list of Italian refugees and their ministers, beginning in the year 1550. This work consists of seventy manuscript pages, preserved in the state archives; and on page 23 the entry occurs, "Filippo Bruno, of the kingdom of Naples." Burlamachi contented himself with a single date at the top of each page. Every page contains between twenty and thirty entries; and the date given seems to refer to the names standing first on the page. At the head of the page on which Bruno is named is the date 1577; his name is fourteenth in a list of twenty-seven; and at the head of the following page is the date 1580. Bruno, therefore, was entered in the original archives, now lost, between 1577 and 1580, which agrees in all respects with the date 1579 yielded by the records of the university, by the registers of the council, and by the registers of the consistory.

The proceedings in the consistory began on the 6th August 1579 and ended 27th August 1579; and almost immediately after the last entry Bruno must have quitted Geneva, perhaps with the intention of showing his complete indifference to the privileges which he had regained.¹ The documents collected by M. Dufour in his careful and scholarly pamphlet run as follows:—

Extract from the Registers of the Council (vol. lxxiv.
folio 136.)

“*Thursday, 6th August 1579.*—Philippe Jordan, called Brunus, an Italian, detained for having caused to be printed certain replies and invectives against M. de la Faye,² reckoning twenty errors in one of his lessons.

“Resolved that he should be examined after dinner before the learned council and Mr. Secretary Chevalier.

“Jean Bergeon, imprisoned for having printed the said invectives, persuaded by the said Italian that those papers contained nothing except philosophy.

“Resolved he should remain in prison till to-morrow, and should be condemned to pay a fine of fifty florins.

“*Friday, 7th August.*—Jean Bergeon, printer, petitions for pardon of the fault committed by him in printing a calumnious paper against M. de la Faye, for the which he is imprisoned, having been led astray by the monk, who maintained there was nothing in it against God or the magistracy.

“Resolved that yesterday’s decree shall hold good, except for the fine, which shall be diminished by twenty-five florins on account of his small means.

¹ M. Dufour makes the valuable suggestion that under the name of Philippe Brun or Brunet records of Bruno’s progress are yet to be found. The archivists of Lyons and Toulouse unfortunately at present offer nothing to assist the student beyond civil assurances that they possess no further traces of Bruno’s

visit. News equally disappointing comes from Helmstedt and Wolfenbüttel.

² Antoine de la Faye, professor of philosophy in the Academy of Geneva. Later he became professor of theology, and the quarrel probably arose therefore on a philosophic and religious question.

"*Monday, 10th August.*—Philippe Brunet, an Italian, having responded in prison respecting the calumnies which he caused to be printed against M. Antoine de la Faye, having acknowledged his fault Friday last, in presence of the ministers and of Mr. Varro,¹ resolved, that he shall be set at liberty, but that he must ask pardon of God, of the law, and of the said de la Faye, and that he shall be again sent to acknowledge his fault before the consistory, and he shall, moreover, be sentenced to tear the said defamatory libel into pieces ; for the rest, he shall be granted his costs." (Register of the Council, vol. lxxiv. folio 138.)

In what humour Bruno attended to make the required apology appears from the following entry:—

"*Thursday, 13th August.*—Prohibition of the sacrament. Philippe Brun appeared before the consistory to acknowledge his fault, forasmuch as he had erred in the doctrine, and had called the ministers of the Church of Geneva *pedagogues*, alleging that in that matter he would neither excuse himself nor would he plead guilty, for the truth was not told of him, since he was of opinion that the story was had upon the report of one Mr. Antoine de la Faye. Asked whom he called pedagogues, he answered with many excuses and allegations that he was persecuted, bringing forward several random opinions with sundry other accusations ; and nevertheless he confessed that he appeared in this place to own his fault, which he committed when he made sundry and divers reflections upon the ministers. Was admonished to follow the true doctrine. Said he is prepared to submit to the censure. And seeing that he calumniated the said De la Faye, and brought forward an accusation against him, that he had said a thing which he did not say, saying, moreover, that he would not ask pardon for his conduct, but that he was obliged to do what he had done, it is recommended that

¹ Michael Varro was secretary to the council and afterwards counsellor. He had studied law, but occupied himself chiefly with natural science and mathematics. He died in 1586.

he shall be soundly reasoned with, and that he shall be caused to acknowledge his fault, and that he shall be forbidden the sacrament in case he will not acknowledge his fault; and, moreover, shall be sent¹ before the *Seigneurs*, who are entreated to show no grace whatever to such a fellow, for he may bring strife into the schools; and he must promptly recognise his fault. Who answered that he repented of his fault and would make amends for it by better conversation, and, moreover, he confessed to his calumny with respect to the said Sr. de la Faye. The said remonstrances and prohibition of the sacrament were made to him, and returned with remonstrances.

"*Thursday, 27th August.*—Absolution from the prohibition with remonstrances. Philippe Brun, a scholar living in this city, appeared before the consistory to require that the prohibition of the sacrament laid upon him should be removed; and he was forbidden the sacrament because of his calumnies against the ministers and against a tutor of the college named M. Antoine de la Faye, acknowledging that in this he had committed a grave error; it is recommended that good counsel should be bestowed upon him, and he be given liberty to participate in the sacrament; on which he was reasoned with, and he was made free from the prohibition, for which he returned his hearty thanks."²

It has been stated that Bruno could not have become a student in the University of Geneva without consenting in writing to the confession of faith imposed by the statute of 1559.

In 1576, however (J. E. Cellerier, *L'Académie de Genève*, 1872, p. 150), this stipulation was withdrawn, and Bruno, therefore, was not compelled to sign any profession of faith before he entered the university. M. Dufour considers

¹ No other summons is recorded of Pastors, which might have thrown light on this matter, are missing by the registers of the council.

² The registers of the Company from the year 1579 to 1584.

it proved that Bruno had formally accepted the Protestant religion because his name is on the return of Italian refugees made by the Protestant Church in Geneva. But we have it on his own evidence that he had attended many sermons in Italian and in French, and also the teaching and sermons of Balbani, with the object of acquainting himself with the religion of the city. It is clear that he could not have embraced Calvinism without knowing its principles. Giving himself, therefore, due time for the study, he must plainly have decided against Calvin and quitted the city. It will be remembered, also, that he found Calvinism a particularly detestable religion. Moreover, for having "erred in matters of doctrine" he is called before the consistory; and though we are told "he was admonished to follow the true doctrine," he made no profession of doing so. The point was passed over, and he escaped on withdrawing the accusations which he had made against De la Faye, and on asking pardon for the epithet *pedagogue*, which he had applied to the ministers of the Church of Geneva. With regard to the prohibition of the sacrament, Bruno's disposition was such, that to forbid him what he chose to consider his rights was to make him insist upon them whether he wanted them or no. Like the Irish nation, which has been said to be never at peace except when it is at war, he revelled in contention, and being a stickler for privilege, it is by no means certain that he was a partaker in the sacrament merely because, with characteristic pertinacity, he insisted that he was in no way disqualified for the communion.

From Geneva Bruno went to Lyons, and as a sect of Socinians¹ is known to have existed there, the hope was reasonable that he might also be treated with tolerance. Moreover, Lyons was the centre of the French book trade. It rivalled Geneva in the cheapness of its wares; and though Lyons was famous for missals and books of hours,

¹ Castlenau speaks of the "Deists and Trinitarians" of Lyons. Their chief died at Zurich in 1562.

and Geneva for its Bibles, so completely were the two towns free from any narrow sectarian spirit, that they drove a thriving but underhand trade in each other's commodities; and Genevese mass-books went out into the world side by side with Calvinistic commentaries printed in Lyons. Thus competition was open and keen; and the grudge was embittered by the fact that many French refugees were established on the banks of Lake Leman, where they led away their compatriots into exile with the promise of high wages. The Lyonnese printers retaliated by branding the publications of Geneva as heretical; and the Genevese, who had no Index, avoided the prohibition by placing on their title-pages the name of Cologne or Antwerp, or by sending a member of their printing-houses into a foreign town, and even to Lyons itself, which was thus forced to bring the contraband goods into the market.

Bruno remained at Lyons a month, but being unable to find sufficient employment there, he went to Toulouse, where there was a famous school, which numbered ten thousand scholars. Supported by a sense of his own merit, he ventured into the lion's mouth; for Toulouse was a bulwark of the Inquisition, "the rampart of the faith in Languedoc;" and Bruno, who had read Rabelais, must have known that Pantagruel declined to visit the city of the troubadours, because, as he said, he was always athirst and always dry, and therefore he needed no warming, since in Toulouse men were grilled like so many red herrings. It is sufficient evidence that Bruno was not a professed Calvinist, since for more than a year he was permitted to lecture and to teach in this intolerant city. "The students," says an old chronicle, "rose at four in the morning, and after their prayers were said, they were on their way to college by five o'clock, with their folios under their arms and lanterns in their hands."

The fair city of the gay science and of the floral games was then at its zenith. Its rich and powerful schools

attracted a large population to the town, which had not as yet begun to suffer from the distress in France. Here Bruno met with better days. He made the acquaintance of "persons of intelligence," and was invited to read astronomy with the scholars of the city. In about six months, when the place of ordinary lecturer became vacant, he took his degree as Master of Arts, and qualified himself for the professorship, which was bestowed upon him. He remained in the town a year or more,¹ giving lessons and lectures on philosophy, and in particular on Aristotle's book on the Soul,—a subject which agitated Italy for nearly a century, and was awakening a deep interest in the whole of Europe. Whether Aristotle did or did not lapse from the doctrine of personal immortality was discussed with the bitterest invective in the schools, and professors lecturing on other subjects were recalled to the question of the hour by their pupils, who shouted "*Anima, anima*," that the long and ardent dispute might be revived. It is supposed that Bruno may have reproduced the substance of his lectures at Toulouse in his book on the *Shadows of Ideas*, printed in 1582 in Paris. Nothing certain is known except that he lectured on the soul, and it is probable that he availed himself of the method of Lully for developing the memory of his pupils. It is known that he did not consider himself altogether parted from the Church. "Twice in seventeen years," he says at his trial, "I attended the confessional; once in

¹ From the somewhat ambiguous wording of the ninth document of the trial, Bruno seems to think that he remained two years or two years and a half at Toulouse. But since we know he was at Geneva in 1579, and spent, as he says, "about five years" in Paris, he could not have remained two years in Toulouse. If he arrived there early in the winter of 1579, he may have remained till the beginning or 1581, when he must have gone to Paris. How otherwise could the impression

remain on his mind that he spent so long a period as five years in that city? The books which he printed there were dated 1582. Early in 1583 he was in London; from the autumn of 1585 till 1st June 1586 he was once more in Paris. At the outside, therefore, and counting the two periods in one, he could not have spent more than three years in Paris; and it scarcely seems possible that he stayed much more than a year in Toulouse.

Toulouse with a Jesuit, and another time in Paris with another Jesuit." His masterful nature rebelled at the obedience of the cloister, as his mind refused to refine on the distinctions in the Godhead; but he clung with an unreasonable and passionate attachment to the material part of the Catholic religion, though openly professing himself unable to accept its spiritual teaching. "Souls learned and generous," he says (W. i. 172), "do right, not by law, but by expedience,"—a commentary on the words of Paul to the Romans, "For ye are not under the law, but under grace: ye are become dead to the law." It is clear that he had not realised his position with regard to the Church in his own mind, but that, believing, as he did, theology and philosophy to be roads leading but to one end, and that end divine, he held it to be altogether immaterial which way was chosen, providing the great doctrine of love to God and man is borne in the mind and manifest in every action of life.

It is difficult to understand how so lax a Catholic could have been permitted to exercise his calling in Toulouse, even for one year or one year and two or three months. Toulouse was a city of fanatics, and though the seat of the Parliament of Languedoc, freedom of thought was excluded, and no heretic could either live, or even print a book there. Here, a century before, Raimond Sebond, for whom Montaigne made himself the apologist, was permitted to profess opinions both novel and irregular. But the times had changed, and the spirit was developing itself which forty years later decreed the martyrdom of Vanini, whose tongue, in the words of an old chronicle "was cut out, his body was cast into the flames, and his soul was delivered up to Satan." Moreover, for other reasons, Bruno's stay in the town was rapidly becoming impossible. Already, in April and May 1580, Henry of Navarre overran the neighbourhood with his troops. Between the years 1579 and 1580 the Huguenots made "more than forty assaults" (*Sully's Memoirs* i. 87-98) on different cities

and villages in the neighbourhood; and for some years later the headquarters of the King of Navarre were at Montauban, a city not far from Toulouse, which was thus rendered an unsuitable spot for a traveller indisposed to assume that "*thin habit of spirits*" which Sir Thomas Browne declares to be "*beyond the force of swords.*"

It was probably about a year later (1581-82) when the Nolan took his departure, "leaving," as he says, "on account of the civil wars;" though his allusions to "his enemies at Toulouse, and to its "clamours, its murmuring, and its scholastic frenzy" (Gfr. 624), with certain words cancelled in his deposition (Doc. ix.), clearly indicate that some of his afflictions were on a smaller scale than civil war, and were due to his natural love of disputation. Thus, as has been well said by Washington Irving, "mere pebbles make the stream of truth diverge into different channels, even at the fountain-head."

CHAPTER IV.

“The earth is the *cul de sac* in the great city of God—the camera obscura full of inverted and contracted images from a fairer world, the coast of God’s creation, a vaporous halo round a better sun.”—J. P. RICHTER.

*Journey through France, 1581. Paris. Lully. Some Latin
Works on the Art of Memory.*

It was probably early in 1581 when Bruno travelled northwards to Paris. He was thirty-three years of age, in the prime of life, and for a man who by his own act was shut out from the monastic career, and who hoped to make his living by writing and speaking, the road to the capital promised help and advancement, since France, racked as it was by war, was alive to learning and to philosophy.

We learn from the Spanish biographer of Don John of Austria that the courtiers rode to court in carts drawn by oxen, while driving was prohibited by royal command on account of “*that infernal vice the coach,*” which had done great injury to Castile. In France, the system of relays not being yet established, it was common for the coachmen of noble ladies to lose their way in the dark and their horses in the rivers. Journeys by water were made in tow-barges, which were often cut down and upset by heavier craft. Sometimes the crazy wherry was full three times over; sometimes the wind was high and caused delay; there was no awning; infants died on their way to baptism; the miserable

passengers were beaten by the tempest, and too often assailed with clubs and stones from the banks by hasty Catholics with a gift for discovering and punishing stray lambs of another persuasion.

For sixteen years Bruno wandered in Europe, at a time when to travel meant to spend eight days on the road from Paris to Calais, and seven days from Lyons to Paris, to sleep in inns pell-mell with travellers of the roughest description, and often with no bed but straw.

But, in spite of every obstacle, it was a matter of necessity that a man of learning should travel. To print in Paris, a writer was forced to be in Paris ; for to correct proof-sheets at a distance, and with the post wanting, was impossible.

Book marts, too, were so few and far between, that transcripts were often made by hand and sold. Books published abroad were very costly in London, and books published in Oxford were not to be had in the London shops, so ill was the trade organised. Moreover, as the fame of a book nowadays is said to be made by word of mouth, so the fame of a professor in the Middle Ages was made by disputation. To these tournaments of letters Bruno looked even more than to his books for credit and support. A crowd of hearers spread abroad the fame of the disputants, and the fury of debate added a zest to a ready speaker with a disputatious temper. Regnault, the secretary of the Grand Prior, Henri d'Angoulême, speaks of the Nolan in a preface to one of his works (*The Song of Circe*) printed in Paris, as "an author in the disesteem of the populace," and that he was out of suits with fortune was as much due perhaps to his love of debate as to his heretical opinions.

The echoes of war had crossed the Alps and penetrated the still seclusion of the Neapolitan cloister (W. ii. 198; *De Lampad. Comb. Dedic.*) "It was," Bruno writes, "one long and horrid tumult." In another place he speaks of "the frenzy and tumult of France," and of "the sanguinary

Seine" (W. i. 231). Although he lamented the intestine wars which ravaged the country at that time, he had a just appreciation of the valour, gaiety, and quickness of the people, and in the *Song of Circe* the cock is celebrated as "a most beauteous, lucid, and almost divine animal."

The sight of the country as he journeyed through France was not calculated to cement his allegiance to the ancient religion. "It was," says Castelnau in his *Memoirs*, "one long and bleeding wound." Mornay writes to Queen Elizabeth in 1585 that France was transformed into a scaffold. The country was literally torn in halves between the League and the Cause, between Lorraine and Navarre. "It is not possible for them" (the French), writes Sir William Cecil, "to be poor and peaceable for many years." The priests said prayers in coats of mail, the crucifix in one hand and the sword in the other. "Kill them all; God will know his own," cried a monk in the streets of Paris. "Towns," to quote from an old chronicle, "were no longer towns, but the haunts of lions and tigers." The king ordered his people "*on pain of death to love one another*." The Papists razed the temples of the Huguenots; the Huguenots pillaged the Papal sacristies.

Into Paris, then containing not quite four hundred thousand people, Bruno entered towards the middle of 1581. Antique philosophy had expired, or rather, like the river Lethe, which runs underground, it had vanished. Suddenly, with the revival of thought, there arose what has been called by an old writer "an hydroptique immoderate desire of humane learning and languages." Not even the plague had caused a lapse in the instruction given at the schools or in the attendance of the scholars. They rose with the lark. The first morning class was held at six; the students dined at ten, and the court at twelve, or even an hour later on hunting-days. The court exchequer was low, and the science of credit,

instead of parading in open exchanges, lurked as yet in the dark alleys of the Jewish quarters. Men of learning, even in the next reign, were not received without misgivings and lapses in comfortable entertainment. "You cost the king¹ too much, sir," said Sully to Casaubon; "your pay exceeds that of two good captains, and you are of no use to the country." Moreover, free quarters even at court were not what we are used to call princely. Voltaire, writing of the palaces in 1562, says that the courtiers slept three and four in the same bed, and lived in rooms unfurnished, except with oaken coffers (*Essai sur les Mœurs*).

The streets of Paris were not pleasant resorts, for not only were night and day made insufferable by brawling, but so late as 1607 Casaubon complains that the plague nurses came out of the plague hospitals to walk about the town; and there is no reason to suppose that in 1581 the nurses were less solicitous either for the health of their patients or for their own.

Under the shadow of his great golden lilies Henri III. loved to assemble the countrymen of his mother and of

¹ "King Henry IV.," says Scaliger, "could not do two things: he could not keep his countenance, and he could not read." He had Casaubon in his library "to tell him what was in his books, for he understood them not at all" (*Epistres Françaises à M. de la Scala*, p. 105). However, the king's want of learning did not impede his career as a politician. He undertook in writing to the Pope, Clement VIII., so to manipulate "the edict which I have published to the tranquillity of my kingdom, that its solid results shall be in favour of the Catholic religion." This dissimulation was characteristic of the age, and men of mark did not escape its influence. Like that Lord Shaftesbury who objected to telling too much truth, Bruno writes of dissimulation as "the handmaid of Prudence and escutcheon of Truth;"

and in speaking of simplicity in the same work he says (W. ii. 190), "This handmaid of Truth ought not to travel far abroad from her Queen, though sometimes the goddess Necessity constrains her to decline towards dissimulation, lest simplicity and truth may not be inculcated, or to shun some other inconvenience. This being done by her not without method and order, may therefore be very well done without error or vice." But that Bruno knew the true aspect of dissimulation is shown by his allusion to "her suspicious steps and fearful appearance, and she is esteemed unworthy of heaven, though even the gods are forced to use her at times . . . for sometimes Prudence hides the truth with her garments in order to escape envy, blame, and outrage."

Macchiavelli. "He was good at heart, but too easily governed," writes De Thou; "a good prince, had he but met with better times." "He loved letters, and protected science and the arts; he thought it princely to reward men of letters, whether they were foreigners or Frenchmen."¹

The philosopher who had been despised and rejected by so many towns was grateful when he found in Paris a reception of better augury. He was named professor extraordinary, to escape assisting at mass, which was compulsory on ordinary professors, and according to Scioppius he would have been accepted as titular professor if he had consented to follow Catholic observances. However, by favour perhaps of the king, and perhaps on account of the doctorate which he had obtained at Toulouse, he was permitted to deliver thirty lectures (Doc. ix.), taking for his subject thirty divine attributes from St. Thomas Aquinas—Dante's "good brother Thomas"—who exercised so powerful an influence on the Dominicans, that the noblest defenders of Catholicism looked to the shining example of his saintly spirit for help in establishing the ancient order of things.²

It was chiefly by the king's favour that Bruno was permitted to follow his calling in Paris. "King Henry III.," he says, "called me one day before him, and desired to know whether the memory I have had and professed is natural or by arts of magic; whereupon I gave him satisfaction, and by that which I said and did I proved to him that my memory came by knowledge and not by magic arts." Some light is thrown on Bruno's

¹ From his time French with the Italian accent became the rage. The round sounds *avoit*, *françois*, *anglois*, and so forth, were flattened into the pronunciation of Italian *quens* and *courtiers*; and although Henri Estienne condemned *le nouveau langage italianisé*, it held its

ground. A modern instance occurs in the imitation of the German court *r* in English aristocratic circles.

² Bruno, when opposing the doctrine that the Virgin was born without sin, was supported by St. Thomas and by the authorities of his order.

character by his dedication of the *Shadows of Ideas* to Henry III. of France. The king is represented as a “spectacle transporting the nations by his virtue, his genius, his magnanimity, his glory.”

In good report and evil report Bruno’s gratitude appeared in magniloquent praises of the king—of “the highness of this great and powerful monarch, the most generous heart in Europe, who makes the farthest poles of earth resound with his fame ; he who when he roars in anger, like a lion in his lofty cave, inspires fear and mortal terror in the other mighty beasts of prey ; and when he is at peace gives out a flame of liberal and courteous love, such as lights up the neighbouring tropic, heats the frozen bear, and dissolves to dew the rigid arctic desert, which lies beneath the eternal watch and ward of fierce Bootes” (W. i. 122).

Again, when it becomes a question whether the triumphant beasts or vices shall be expelled, or the virtues exalted to the skies, “Apollo asked how should they dispose of the tiara ?” (W. ii. 249). “That, that is the crown,” said Jupiter, “which by the high decree of Fate and the instinct of the Divine Spirit is deservedly awaited by the invincible Henry III., king of the magnanimous, the potent, and the warlike land of France, the crown which he looks for after those of France and of Poland ; as he testified in the beginning of his reign by taking that celebrated device, where two crowns below and one more eminent make the body, and this motto serves for the soul, *Tertia cælo manet*. This most Christian king, holy, religious, and pure, may securely say, *Tertia cælo manet*, because he knows that it is written, Blessed are the peace-makers ; blessed are the pure in heart, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. He loves peace ; he maintains his people as much as possible in tranquillity and devotion. He is not pleased with the noise of martial instruments, which administer to the blind acquisition of the unstable tyrannies and principalities of the earth ; his pleasure is

justice and holiness, which discover the way to the kingdom of heaven. The fiery, tempestuous, and turbulent spirits of some of his subjects may not hope that while he lives whose tranquil mind is as it were a stronghold against warlike fury, they shall receive any assistance in vainly disturbing the peace of other countries under pretence of adding other sceptres and crowns to his; for *Tertia cælo manet*.

"In vain shall the rebellious French forces set forth against his will to disquiet the borders and coasts of others; for not the proposals of unstable counsel, the hope of changeable fortune, nor the advantage of foreign administrations and suffrages will be able, under a pretence of investing him with robes and adorning him with crowns, to take from him otherwise than by necessity the holy adornment of a tranquil spirit, he being more liberal of his own than covetous of what belongs to others. Let others endeavour to mount the empty throne of Portugal, and others be solicitous for the Belgic dominion. Why should you break your heads and beat your brains about this or the other principality? Why suspect and fear, O kings and princes, that your neighbours should conquer your armies and rob you of your crowns? *Tertia cælo manet*.

"Let the crown remain," Jupiter concludes, "waiting for him who is worthy of so magnificent a possession. And here also let victory reward perfection, honour and glory have their throne; for if they are not virtues, they are the end of virtues."

Bruno's was no fair-weather affection. When the power of Henry III. was despised, and in a country where his very Christianity had been severely censured, Bruno gratefully remembered his protector, and in the preface to the *Acrotismus* he places his book under the patronage of "the most Christian and most puissant king." The *Shadows of Ideas* appeared "with the king's privilege," and these panegyrics drew on the writer the anger of the Inquisition, since it was one of the counts

against him when he was arraigned at Venice that he had praised heretic princes, among whom Henry III. was noted; for the news of his death in 1589 was saluted by the cannon of Rome, where a panegyric was pronounced on his assassin, the Dominican Clement. In the epistle dedicatory he is careful to give his opinion of the book to the king. "Great gifts, O sacred Majesty," he says, "are due to great men—the greater to the greater, the greatest to the greatest. It is, therefore, manifest why this book (which is numbered among the greatest by reason of its noble subject, the singularity of its invention, and the gravity of demonstration wherewith it is expounded) addresses itself to you, O admirable light of nations, by reason of your excellent and most mirrorific mind, by the high renown of your genius, which is famous, magnanimous, and of good right merits the obeisance of all learning. Be it yours to accept this work, graciously to protect it, and to examine it with mature wisdom."

This work contains the germs of Bruno's system of philosophy. It bears a device showing it is addressed to readers "not inept but learned," and it initiates Bruno's revolt against the fixed system of Aristotle. Plato and the "Hebraic Plato," Plotinus, look on the great globe itself as but "a shadow, εἶδωλον, of the truth, which is the sphere of ideas, those divine images . . . which are the shadows of true existence" (*Plato's Republic*, Jowett, iii. 420). Bruno, seizing the view of Plato, works it out in this book by defining ideas as the nature of things, and the shadow of ideas as that which is in accordance with the nature of things (Gfr. 299). The *Shadows of Ideas* is in reality the first part of a work of which the *Art of Memory* is the second part. The *Shadows of Ideas* discloses the metaphysical principles of Bruno; the *Art of Memory* applies those principles to the Lullian art. "For that art," says Bruno (*Ars Memoriae*, fol. 1, 8), is based on ideas, sometimes out-running idle Nature, and enticing her to labour, some-

times guiding her in the way she should go, or, when she wearies, staying and strengthening her, or correcting her when she errs, or when she is perfected, imitating and striving after her diligence."

Thus the Nolan, like Garrick between Tragedy and Comedy, stands beside the twin studies, the dark and mysterious oracle of the Catalonian monk, and the enlightened form of Nature.

This Rabelaisian dedication, so characteristic of Bruno's delight in the magniloquent, is followed by three sets of verses, and preceded by twelve lines of Latin poetry. After alluding to the aspect of the shades, which he is about to evoke from the profound darkness, and promising that they shall be pleasant to look upon, Bruno, assuming the name of Merlin, continues: "The depths of wisdom, if but lightly stirred, shall yield delectation; but they will confound and cover with disgrace instead of glory him who would rashly plunge into them." If a little learning is a dangerous thing, Merlin is wrong; but Buhle is of opinion that the lines are ironical, and intended to deter ignorant persons from reading the book. "To travel," Merlin continues, "with any surety in the labyrinth of science, it is essential we should not lose the thread held out to us by Wisdom." This is succeeded by an "apologetic dialogue" between one Hermes Philothimus and Logifer,—evidently a violent attack upon Bruno's enemies living at Paris and elsewhere, who are described as beasts expressing themselves after their kind. "Ravens croak, wolves howl, pigs grunt, oxen low, sheep bleat, donkeys hee-haw; each pleases himself and his kind. Who will reply to them?" (Gfr. 296.) Later he speaks of these would-be philosophers as "asses who slowly hurry to the chase," resembling Midas "by reason of their great ears;" and again he calls them mules (Gfr. 195), "neither horses nor asses, mixing braying with neighing."

The *Shadows of Ideas* is divided into two parts. The

first (*Triginta intentiones umbrarum*) contains thirty points to be considered respecting the shadows of ideas. The second part (*Triginta idearum conceptus*) lays down thirty axioms which are composed of simple primordial ideas, and of primordial ideas coupled with shadows of ideas. By sharply defining the nature and hidden laws of active thought, Bruno desired to clear the ground for those rules of mnemonics which figure prominently in all his teaching. The expression, "shadow of ideas," he says, is just "because man cannot know the absolute truth; for his being is not a being absolute and real, but its shadow."

This is reasoning adopted from the Neo-Platonic and Cabbalistic philosophy. The shadow of the idea has its share of light and darkness. It is composed of both, having traces of light, but not the fulness of light. Light can be recognised by beholding the substance, and also by beholding the accident of the substance, which may be its shadow. For as the light of the substance (*materia prima*) emanates from the primordial light (*actus primus lucis*), so the light of the accident (or shadow) emanates from the light of the substance. ("The first form," says Bacon, in his *Advancement of Learning*, "that was created was light, which hath a relation and correspondence in Nature and corporal things to knowledge in spirits and incorporal things.") Somewhat later Bruno says (*Intentio*, xxiii.), "The shadow is opposed neither to light nor darkness. It is related to both. Man took refuge in the shadow of the Tree of Knowledge that he might know light and darkness, truth and falsity, good and evil."

But the substance and its accident cannot receive the fulness of light; they are therefore within its shadow; and the idea of them is again a shadow. Now these shadows of ideas, being composed of light and darkness, are of a twofold nature. They will lose themselves in the darkness if the high properties of the soul are inactive and subservient to the lower appetites; or they will

ascend to the purer light if the higher faculties gain the mastery, and as the soul rises to the knowledge of the eternal and the imperishable. And all knowledge of truth proceeds from unity to plurality, and from plurality to unity. (Perhaps the same spirit moved Bacon when he wrote, "A little philosophy inclineth men's minds to atheism, but depth of philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion. For while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them and go no farther; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity.") It was necessary¹ that the universe should in its various parts be unequal. Were they equal, the beauty of the world would be impossible,² for its perfection is manifested only by the connection of its various parts to the whole.³ If, therefore, the world is a complete and organised whole, we cannot conceive more than one ruler, as it is inconceivable there can be more than one order. ("We are all," says the Apostle, "members of one body.") The world has many members and but one body: the chaos of Anaxagoras is number without order.

There is no real difference between the shadows of ideas. Beauty and ugliness are conceived by the same operation of the mind. There are many ideas, but there is but one method of perceiving ideas: imperfection, evil, and ugliness are not separate conceptions. Their peculiarity consists in their being a negation in reality, a nonentity in entity, a defect in effect.⁴ (Leibnitz makes use of this definition in his *Theodicea*.)

The shadows of ideas differ in degree according to the position of their substance with regard to the primordial Unity. They may be related to the truth, its

¹ *Intentio*, viii., ix.

² *De Triginta Idearum Conceptus*,
ii.

³ "Differentia, sine qua concor-

dantia præter inattingibile esse nequit."—Cusa, *Dialogus de Genesi*, 71a.

⁴ *Intentio*, xxi.

distinctness and purity, although they never reach the absolute truth, the pure light itself. Without following Bruno into the mazes of a definition between physical and ideal shadows of ideas, it is easy to understand a definition such as the following:—Physical shadows of ideas are like the real shadows thrown by a real body. A horse in motion casts a shadow which changes with the motion of the horse. This shadow is divided from the substance, and is therefore no part of the substance, though it could not exist without the substance. In like manner shadows of ideas are not in time, place, nor motion; but the object is in all. Bruno conceives a great procession of things, at the head of which he places things which by themselves and in themselves are real, and at its end he places the immaterial. That spirit is truly active which comprehends pure ideas untrammelled by place or time. The forms of things are in themselves; they are in heaven; they are in ideas; they are in germs; they are in the nearest acting causes; they are individual in their operation; they are in the senses and in the mind. Matter is not complete when it receives a form, as the eternal changes of matter testify. That which is real is not individual; it is not capable of being perceived by the senses, as Aristotle expressly declared when he spoke of substance (*κυρίως οὐσίαν*). That which is real remains the same, therefore what is produced and perishes is not real. That alone is real which is the same (*Idem*)—the Abiding—the Eternal: the terms are identical.

"The highest intelligence," says Bruno, "is the Highest Light,¹ and he who desires to comprehend that which is absolute and steadfast must strive after the light, for every creature can receive it according to its capacity. All things proceed one from another, diversity from

¹ *Conceptus*, ix. ; *De Trīginta Idearum Conceptus*, ii.

diversity in infinite multitudes, and he alone can number them who has numbered the stars in the sky. But they must return to the First Principle, and they become lost in that absolute Unity which is the source of all units.¹

The Primeval Intelligence, from its copiousness, does not produce new ideas, nor does it operate in a new manner. Nature produces new things as regards number, but not in a new manner, because it invariably works in the same manner. Those virtues which are, as it were, unwound and dispersed in matter, become united as they approach the First Cause, and are one with it. In the First Cause there is but one idea of all things. It is light, life, spirit, unity; in it are all species, perfections, truths, numbers, and degrees of things. Contrast and diversity in Nature are in it harmony and unity. Here Bruno inserts a quantity of mnemonic rules which it would be tedious to follow.² After declaring that except the One and the First all must be number, he proceeds to show why the lowest degree of beings must be infinite in number, and that in the highest the Infinite Unity is alone the most absolute Reality. He then complicates his subject by four definitions of form, dividing the Idea of the subject again into four, the first technical, the second logical, the third physical, the fourth metaphysical. If, he says, the First Principle acted from chance, and not from free will, it would require no ideas, for there can be no activity which is not founded on freedom of reflection.³ Anything is more easily understood by means of the idea in the mind than by means of the real form and substance itself, because these are material. In like manner a subject is best conceived, not through its own objective being, but through the idea of it in the Divine understanding.

True to his admiration for Lully, Bruno proceeds to

¹ *Conceptus*, x. Compare *Causa*, 4th Dialogue (W. i. 261).

² *Conceptus* xiii. .

³ Hegel follows the same train of reasoning.

assert that the golden chain of things, which reaches from heaven to earth, and from earth to heaven, and binds together the uttermost parts of each, is, in its connection with knowledge, an excellent help to the memory (Buhle, 726).¹ As, he says, there are six sorts of shadows, differing according to the position of bodies in their relation to the sun, so do the shadows of ideas differ in their relation to the First Principle, who, by addition, subtraction, and attraction, calls forth, combines, and weighs all things. The Divine Spirit has but one idea, which comprehends totality in unity; in a human intelligence ideas manifest themselves by irregular and detached actions, but they are declared in God by manifold, connected, and active power; they are revealed by Nature like an imprint, but in man, *per umbræ modum*, they are but shadows.

Of mysteries, Bruno² says that they divide and diminish as the intelligence expands, for they were instituted to use men's eyes to see clearly, lest the sight should be offended by a too abrupt transition from darkness to light. With characteristic want of prudence, he expounds without scruple or hesitation matters about which he had been better silent; while Lullian maxims, which he might have proclaimed upon the house-tops, he wraps in the mystery of the sibyl, accompanying his comments on Lully with such tags as these: "It is not given to all men to enter Corinth;" "He who desires to understand, understands;" "He who desires to elicit the truth, elicits the truth."

It was natural that this teaching should excite comment in Paris. "These shadows," says Bruno in his

¹ Perhaps this golden chain of things is only visible to the poet, whose eye "doth turn from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven." But the conception is antique. "When a man . . . seeth the dependence of causes and the works of Providence," says Lord Bacon, "then, according to the allegory of the poets, he will easily believe that

the highest link of Nature's chain must needs be tied to the foot of Jupiter's chair" (*Advancement of Learning*, 10).

² In his book *De Imaginum* Bruno gives it to be understood that "*De Umbris Idearum*" and the "*Cantus Circeus*" are to be interpreted cabalistically.

dedication to his comedy the *Candle-Bearer*, "terrify the brute creation, and, like the devils of Dante, put the asses in a panic." He represents his adversaries under the names of "Master Bobus," "Anthoc," "Roccus," "Pharfaçon," "Berling," "Maines," "Scoppet," "Clyster," "Carpophorus," "Arnophagus," "Psicoteus" (Gfr. 296). He visits all dependent thinkers with his contempt. "I have sworn to no philosophy," he says, "but I despise no means of knowledge. I esteem him highly who from his own mind adds his mite to the art and science of the contemplation of things. I do not think ill of the Platonists, nor do I reject the doctrine of the Peripatetics so long as it has a foundation in what is real; and this I say that I may set my foot against them who measure other minds by their own. Of that kind is the unhallowed crew who have not formed their own souls by occupation with the best philosophers, and who speak constantly out of the mind of others because they have no mind of their own."

Few persons perhaps suffered more from these than Bruno. "One man," he writes in his preface to *Infinity*, "as if I had an eye to himself, menaces me; another, for being only observed, assaults me; for coming near this man, he bites me; and for laying hold of that one, he devours me. It is not one who treats me in this manner, nor are they few; they are many, and almost all." It is true that Bruno makes no secret of his aversion to the mob, for which they repay him in kind. "I hate," he says in the same preface, "the vulgar rout; I am displeased with the bulk of mankind." And in the dialogues on the *Immense* and the *Innumerable*, he speaks of having been sped by the Beautiful and by Truth towards the goal where the shouts of the throng and the storms of the age can never more trouble him.

In brief, Bruno desires to convey by this work that what we call ideas are real, and what we call real is but an image or shadow of the reality. What is real is everlasting and unchangeable, such as truth, order, love,

beauty. The image is of matter, which changes and passes away; such is man, a chair, a leg of mutton. But the Idea is stable, universal, eternal; it is an attribute of God, who is also eternal. It is infinite of itself and by itself, because it is divine; an essence everywhere and always essential to man, and yet above him. He alone can give the body of the truth its form and pressure who has in his understanding a precise image of the real. Under such guidance let him study the outward forms of human speech with the images of truth and reality that are within him and about him. Ideas are his true light. If they ceased to be, he would be plunged in darkness and the world would escape him. Let him behold the round world and its fulness as a scroll bearing the imprint of the finger of God, each character a living symbol, and the whole creation a copy of an ideal picture, an expression of the beauty, truth, and order of the Divine mind. Bruno having thus defined the shadow and the idea, proceeds to set up a machinery of expression. Men's minds had not yet recovered from the surprise of the invention of printing; and Bruno, taking the universe as a printed book—a simile common to that century, which was beginning to compare the book of Nature with the Scriptures—proceeds to compile a dictionary or *syllabicum* of the objects of the understanding, of forms and modes of understanding, reducing the whole of these to order by the art of Lully. Mnemonics assume so complete a form in the eye of Bruno as to embrace not only the practice of representation, but its theory, and the very theory of thought. He looks upon thinking as an accomplishment of the mind, a representation, so to say, in the inner mind by inner writing, of that which Nature represents externally, as it were, by external writing. A familiar illustration of this process is in the sensitive plate of the photographer, which receives a shadow on its surface, and by its inner process retains the shadow as if it were the autograph of Nature.

cf. Supr. doctrine.

"Thus holy true &
each thing else be
the world's true
fancy"
Sydney. Acad.

Thus Bruno conceives what has been written by the spirit in Nature; and thus he rises to the conception of the Idea. He is no sooner under the empire of this harmony than he feels he is one with the life of the universe, which, with his human mind, constitutes but one principle, flowing from and animated by one and the same Being. Thus writing, as he says, as one dwelling under the shadow of ideas, he builds up his theory, which binds man by his inner thought as by a cord to the order of Nature, and both to the unity of God.

The second part of the *Shadows of Ideas* is called the *Art of Memory*. It contains a number of psychological observations and rules of memory, intended for the king's use. Mnemonics is held by Bruno to possess a threefold mission. It must first determine the subjects of the cognition and their nature; secondly, it deals with forms; and, thirdly, with the instrument itself, and its use in exercising and strengthening the mind. Hence everything depends on the precision and clearness with which objects are perceived; the perceptions must be retained in the mind in such order that they may at pleasure be recalled, so that the chaotic fancy is restrained and ordered by the thinking faculty. Several rules follow in a technical language, the key to which has perished. What to us are opinions and conclusions take actual shape and form in the mind of Bruno, and his *Organon* contains directions for the government and security of the mind, and the attainment of just perceptions.

He distinguishes nine mental states which concur in perception: (*a*) the intention, when either the sense or the mind is moved by an object; (*b*) the provocation of the imagination, thus indirectly or directly excited; (*c*) the passive movement of the imagination, by which it is urged towards inquiry; (*d*) the active movement of the imagination, by which it makes active inquiry; (*e*) the

scrutiny in behalf of which the imagination proceeds; (*f*) the formed representation of a striking idea; (*g*) the representation of the reason why this idea is more striking than another; (*h*) the recognition of the representation, by means of which it can be recalled; and last, the determination that the recognised representation of the striking idea accords with the idea itself. The judgment is the most excellent condition of the nine, and it is the peculiar instrument (*organon*) of the faculty of thought. Bruno compares it to a stick in the hand, by means of which we stir a heap of chestnuts to seek out a particular chestnut.

The mystic figures and hieroglyphics in this work are not to be unriddled without a key. We have, among others, illustrations and figures disposed to the use of this art. Out of the ordinary representations of the sun, the moon, the planets, and the signs of the zodiac, Bruno devises subjects for the plastic arts of great ingenuity and beauty, and to these his learned admirer Buhle is careful to draw attention. Buhle also refers the system of metaphysics here developed to Plotinus, who undoubtedly influenced Bruno from the beginning to the end of his literary career.

To Plotinus and to Jamblichus, his disciple in fantastic philosophy, constant allusions occur in the *Heroic Rapture*, the latest of Bruno's Italian works. Plotinus called himself a Platonist, but he went beyond his master in the great question of the One or the Good, which, in the *Timæus*, Plato declares to be the highest of the ideas, while Plotinus ascribes the source of the highest good to One above the sphere of ideas and beyond the grasp of reason. We find in Plotinus Bruno's cherished instance, the sun, standing for the image of the One or the Good. Out of its abundance it sends forth an image of itself, as the suns pour forth their rays. This image is the sphere of the ideas; to them true being and life belong: in its passive aspect it is the object of knowledge; in its active

sense it is the knowing subject or reason. To sever the highest idea from the others dependent on him is to cut them adrift from the source of life and being; and the *Nous* or image of him in which ideas dwell and perform circles about him, combined with another image produced by the *Nous*, which is the mind, and performs circles about the *Nous*, is a confusion which strikes the modern reader with amazement. The knot, however, was found in ecstasy, which was to bind man to God, and make him one with the Idea.

Bruno, however, had the strength of mind to perceive these differences and to overcome them. He took the best of each system and created a plan of his own; and since (as Sir Joshua Reynolds says in his excellent discourse on imitation) "invention is one of the great marks of genius," Bruno may logically lay claim to genius.

"Mnemosyne," he writes, "is the mother of the Muses" (Gfr. 557, 561). Like Hegel, he ascribed to his method qualities belonging to his mind, and credited mere forms with his own creative power and progression. Bruno's active inventive qualities gave life to abstractions, and he expected other minds to be as vivid and fruitful as his own, which was alive with what Lamb calls "elemental fires."

Perhaps, as has been suggested, this book was the outcome of Bruno's reasonings and writings at Toulouse, which may have been embodied in a lost work on the Soul, the principal doctrine of which reappeared in several of Bruno's other works, and notably in the third part of the *Shadows of Ideas*. Berti believes that another work, called the *Grand Key*, was the first of Bruno's compositions on Lully, and that it also has vanished. It is certain Bruno speaks in Paris perpetually of a Key. He proposes with this grand key to unlock the portals of the Lullian *penetralia*, to make the learned and the unlearned alike acquainted with hidden things, to reveal the occult, to elucidate the obscure; and he ironically entreats the Humanists to forgive him for searching after

gold in the mud of Lully. But the full title of a later work (the *Torch*), and the words, *est et unica clavis*, seems to point to this as the only key to the system of Lully. On the other hand, towards the end of the *Shadows of Ideas*, Bruno refers to a book, the *Great Key*, in which certain "species, forms, appearances, images, semblances, patterns, indications, signs, notes, characters, and seals" are set forth at length. This "First Book of the Great Key"¹ is again alluded to some years later at Wittenberg. If it ever existed, it shared the lot of those lost or forgotten writings to which he alludes; and it is remarkable, not that they were lost, but that so many small divided chapters on the art of memory should survive. The doctrine remained though the pamphlets had perished, and it was no doubt repeated, as well in the *Grand Key* as in the long series of writings succeeding the *Shadows of Ideas*.

After much hesitation we are told that Bruno decided to give the *Shadows of Ideas* to the world, observing that were men in all things to consider possible perils and evils, none would ever succeed in performing good and efficient work.

Three books on the art of Lully were published by Bruno in Paris in 1582—the *Shadows of Ideas*, with its second part, the *Art of Memory*, the *Compendium of Architecture*, and the *Song of Circe*. The first, and, in numbers, the largest group of his works, is chiefly written in Italian prose and mostly occupied with mnemonics; the second, written in Latin hexameters, deals exclusively with mathematics.

It is with the first group that we have to do at present. Hallam, in speaking of the works on memory, dismisses them as "unintelligible chimeras, confused and obscure rhapsodies, strange and nonsensical propositions;" and

¹ Bartholinæ numbers the *Grand Key* among Bruno's lost works. Buhle says, "Herein" (in *De Umbris Idearum*) "Bruno refers to a *Liber clavis magnæ* as further setting forth these matters; but I do not know it, nor whether and where it has been printed."

protests with some temper that he does not care either to comprehend the method or to acquaint himself with it. Accordingly we find (vol. ii. p. 95) that the Italian works, in themselves plain and easy enough, have tried his patience beyond its limits, and in speaking of forms as the accidents of matter he is attributing to Bruno a doctrine (W. i. 251) expressly repudiated by him some half-dozen lines lower down in the page quoted. A traveller on arriving at a Swedish inn found written on the wall, "Here is excellent entertainment for man and beast if they provide it themselves;" and the student of an obscure foreign philosophy must come to it furnished with a moderate supply of patience and discernment.¹

However, to do him justice, Hallam is not singular in his ungracious conduct. Helfferich in his pamphlet on Lully (Berlin, 1858) says that if Aristotelian and Biblical symbols were shaken up in a hat, Christianity and metaphysics would appear in novel combinations, and the art of Lully would be reproduced. Helfferich believes he has traced in Lully the influence of an Arabic philosopher, Bathliusi, whose work *De Sphæris Speculativis* was translated into Hebrew. "The method of the great art," says Trendelenburg, "is combination. The art does not answer the question whether these combinations are possible in reality; it merely produces them in representation."

"Old Raymond Lully," as he is called by Charles Lamb, "the Illuminated Doctor," as he was known to his disciples, was born about 1235 at Palma, the capital of Majorca, whither his father had gone with James I. of Arragon, when this prince took the island from the Saracens to punish them for ill-treating his ambassador. He was by origin a Catalonian, of that rough mountain stock which was later to mingle its blood with the

¹ Burton in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (I.) prescribes the study of the Art of Memory, "lately revived by Copernicus, Brunus, and some others," as a cure for melancholy, and, in Dr. Johnson's words, "there is great spirit and great power in what Burton says."

conquerors of Naples and of the Spanish Indies. Sprung from this sturdy race, Lully caught the spirit of the times. His plan was decided by a dream. He lay at the foot of a lentisk tree, and on its leaves he beheld a multitude of characters resembling Turkish or Arabic letters. No sooner had he woken than he believed himself called to a sacred mission of evangelisation. He imagined he had discovered an infallible means of convincing infidels of the truth of Christianity by mathematical demonstration, and the signs and characters of his art were to produce by no less a method than multiplication the great doctrines of the faith, such as the Trinity and others. He taught that mysteries were not opposed to reason, and he applied himself zealously to the Oriental languages, that he might preach the Christian faith to infidels, composing a method (his General Art) by which he sought to show that attributes the most elevated dwell in common things and lie at the root of their existence.

The clue that had fallen from the hand of Lully was seized by Bruno, who at once detected all the advantages promised by the Grand Art. His playful fancy, his memory stored with classical allusions, his profound and original mind, gave him the advantages which he ascribed to the art, but which in truth were altogether independent qualities. Like modern aids to memory, the art of Lully was founded on the fact that that part of the mind which we call memory—" *la partie la plus materielle de l'intelligence* "—has a mechanical function which can be trained and perfected by mechanical means. Lully differed from the Greek and Roman logicians and rhetoricians. Their system of mnemonics consisted of mere aggregates of general conceptions, commonplaces, and psychologic rules ; while Lully composed tables of those fundamental conceptions in which all present conceptions are comprehended, or out of which future conceptions can be constructed ; on these he bestowed symbols, flattering himself that he had discovered how to simplify the cumbersome

methods of past dialecticians and metaphysicians, and to lay open fresh paths in science.

The key of the whole lay in the association of ideas, because if a symbol represented a fact, which led to a chain of facts, it was necessary to remember the first fact, or the whole system fell to the ground. The subject and the attribute, however, were not associated without reason, and the whole was represented to the eye in certain circles or frames, forming a species of logical and metaphysical calculating machine. These circles were six in number, and were concentric. Each was larger than the other, and they were so contrived as to lie on each other and to turn. Two circles indicated the subjects,¹ three the attributes, and the last and outermost circle—which stood alone—contained the questions, and was called the key of the invention. The first of the movable closed circles (which was the circle nearest to the circle of questions) was devoted to the nine essential categories of beings. The second contained the nine classes of attributes of physical being; the third the attributes of the moral being, which were also divided into nine classes, nine virtues, and nine vices; the fourth and fifth contained relative and absolute attributes of physical and metaphysical being; the absolute attributes under the three heads of being, unity, and perfection, the relative attributes as definition, division, and collection (*collectio*).

All knowledge exists in the combination of ideas; and if there is a method of discovering all possible combinations of ideas, the road to all knowledge is laid open. Different trains of fundamental conceptions were represented in letters on the thinking machine, like the figures on the face of a clock; and every kind of combination was produced by setting the circles in motion. When the subjects were brought in contact with the attributes, propositions and axioms were produced in such

¹ For illustrative diagrams see the *Compendium of Architecture* (Gfr. 244, 245, 254).

a vast number of combinations that "at the end of a thousand years they would be past counting, even reckoning a million in every hour." Lully believed he had opened out a new province for the human mind, and that he had made not the demonstration only, but the actual discovery of fresh fields of thought, an exercise easy and mathematically certain.

The method was designed for the treatment of various subjects by directing them all towards the principles of the highest philosophy, but it degenerated into mere disputes and declamation; it became an art for discussing rather than for acquiring science, and men came at last to believe they were practising the grand art when they were occupied with pedantic quibbles, or with what Bacon calls "the canker of epitomes."¹

The insufficiency of the art of Lully as soon as it was put to the proof could not fail to be noticed. Memory, as Locke says, "is the storehouse of our ideas." The more the storehouse is widened, strengthened, and

¹ In speaking of Lully, Bacon says (*Advancement of Learning*, Book ii. 17. 14), "There hath been also laboured and put in practice a method which is not a lawful method, but a method of imposture; which is to deliver knowledges in such manner as men may speedily come to make a show of learning who have it not. Such was the travail of Raymundus Lullius in making that art which bears his name, not unlike to some books of typocosmy, which have been made since, being nothing but a mass of words of all arts to give men countenance that those which use the terms might be thought to understand the art—which collections are much like a fripper's or broker's shop that hath ends of everything, but nothing of worth."

Again he says (Book ii. 15. 3), "For the other principal part of the custody of knowledge, which is memory, I find that faculty in my judgment weakly inquired of. An

art there is extant of it, but it seemeth to me that there are better precepts than that art and better practices of that art than those received. It is certain the art (as it is) may be raised to a point of ostentation prodigious; but in use (as it is now managed) it is barren, not burdensome nor dangerous to natural memory, as is imagined, but barren, that is, not dexterous to be applied to the serious use of business and occasions. And, therefore, I make no more estimation of repeating a great number of names or words upon once hearing . . . than I do of the tricks of tumblers, . . . the one being the same in the mind that the other is in the body, matters of strangeness without worthiness." In another part of the same book, Bacon says, "By means of this science he who knows the words of an art believes he has acquired the very art itself;" and in another place he calls it "*methodus impostura*."

generally enlarged, the better. But a memory in itself excellent, such as that of a bird when he learns a tune, may be without reflection, and therefore useless; while a memory applied to fruitful labour has rich and varied treasures, each justly balanced, compact, and confederating. Minds of the latter class, like Jack in the fairy tale, could climb on a beanstalk into heaven, while the former could never rise above the ground, even if Jacob's ladder were at their doors.

To expect too much of a mechanical aid to memory is to require a man to become a painter by practising the stencil, or a sculptor by moulding a hat or a pair of boots. In this manner the deficiencies of the art struck all the thinkers who had first looked to it for help. It made no deductions, it developed nothing, ready-made conceptions were mechanically tacked to attributes and questions, and the scheme produced resembled thought as a barrel-organ resembles a nightingale.

What, it may be asked, was the attraction to Bruno's passionate and imaginative nature in an art which was the very epitome of cut and dried learning? The mystic shrouded meaning veiled under the emblems of the art took strong hold upon his imagination, while the method appealed to his reason, which revolted against Aristotle, whom Lully detested, pronouncing his metaphysics to be a mere barren category, and his morals to consist of ideas perceived through the senses. Besides, Bruno believed in the Grand Art as a sovereign means of conveying to the people the germ of his philosophy, which is the dialectic of Plato. The idea, the pure archetypal essence, the unity which is the inexpressible excellence and beauty of all things, escapes human science. But as a step in this direction Plato undertook in his old age to reduce ideas to numbers, after having originally developed the theory of ideas apart from all consideration of their relation to numbers.

The Platonic idea is colourless, without figure, imperceptible by any sense, and accessible only to the contemplative view of the reason. The Idea is eternal, without origin or decay, neither increasing nor decreasing, remaining absolutely like itself; it cannot be represented by the fancy, because it is not a material thing; nor is it a conception and form of knowledge; it is not wholly in any other object nor in any living being. The Idea has with the individual objects corresponding to it a certain community and participation; it is in some sense present in them, though in part only, as the rays of the sun extend to the earth; yet the earth is not the sun nor in the sun, though without the sun we cannot conceive of existence. The Idea is supreme and difficult of cognition; it is the cause of all truth and beauty. To it objects owe their being and the mind its power.

Primarily, therefore, Bruno looked to the Lullic art as a swift and easy expedient for conveying abstract ideas. Was it so wonderful that he should seek to express by signs the operations of reason? Why should logic fail to attain a language such as has been granted to mathematics?

From time immemorial the great philosophers had looked for a science of signs such as that offered by Lully. Among the Pythagoreans ethical notions were invested with a mathematical form, and symbols filled the place of definitions. For example, justice was defined by them as *square number*, by which it was intended to express the correspondence between action and suffering, or, in other words, retribution.

All his life Bruno cherished the hope of bring the art to perfection, and in this he was not singular.

Leibnitz never abandoned his project for devising an algebra of thought. All his life he had been in search of a "universal language," a hieroglyph containing a species of calculation by means of which to reason in that language and to calculate were one and the same; and

errors in reasoning were to appear as plainly as errors in calculation. Bruno was persuaded that it was possible to formulate a logical expression of the ruling order of the universe, and he believed that by defining the primary elements of thought and the essential laws of their combination, the very root and essence of created things would be laid bare. Locke¹ shared the same belief; it is the fundamental idea of Hegel's logic, and Dubois Raymond and Professor Stanley Jevons are of opinion that there is a quality in mathematics which is interchangeable with logic.

But there is a depth in Bruno's conception of this art,² and a strength and freedom in his treatment to which Lully could never attain. The fundamental unity of being and thought, the supreme identity of thing and idea, the union between ideality and reality, form the principles on which Bruno believed he could build up an imperishable art.

Language and memory he considered identical not only with thought, but with the nature of things; and by virtue of the primitive essential harmony of the human mind with the creation he believed that he could teach the harmony which exists between the laws of intelligence and the permanent manifestation of law in things. He hoped to perfect a method for connecting universal ideas with real knowledge, while furnishing rules for discussion and directions for the exercise of thought and of speech. The pupil was to learn not only how to expound, to attack, and to defend, but to combine conceptions, to form new ideas, to conceive all which is or can be; not to think alone, but to use the thoughts of others.

Thus the art would be profitable in the sense of Sir

¹ *On the Human Understanding*, "Semeiotica."

² Berti adds to the number of masters professing the Lullian art the names of Duns Scotus, Lefèvre, Bouilly, Paracelsus (the three last are mentioned by Bruno, Gfr. 628),

Valerio dei Valerii, Petrus Tholosanus, Julius Paccius, Alstedius, &c. Brucker speaks of the art as having been highly esteemed in Germany.

A catalogue of the works of Lully is in the Escorial Library.

Joshua Reynolds when he said, "He who has the most materials has the greatest means of invention; and if he has not the power of using them, it must proceed from a feebleness of intellect, or from the confused manner in which those collections have been laid up in his mind." Out of nothing, nothing can come. The "*sursum corda*," as Bruno himself says, "is not said to all men, but to those who have wings" (W. ii. 403).

"To an atheist," says Montaigne, "all writings tend to atheism; he corrupts the most innocent matter with his own venom;" and, in fact, to a genius all methods tend to genius; but except to a genius the method of Lully was dry and dull. Lully was dry and dull to such a degree that Bruno himself apologises for his repetitions (Gfr. 281, 282, 265), and, indeed, once accuses him of a mean and mad spirit (*pauper . . . semper idem . . . delirando tentavit*).

It was far otherwise with Bruno. Solger, the German philosopher, writes of him that his poetic inspiration was such as to compel him to express himself in verse.¹ In him poetry was a passion, which, working silently within him, transformed his nature; and by a thousand apparently aimless or sportive touches, by his lofty and powerful themes, by his conceptions vaster and more splendid than any vouchsafed to common men, we are bidden to recognise the handiwork of genius. Hegel, in his *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*, says of Bruno, "The most striking characteristic of his writing is its inspiration. The spirit dwelling within him knows the unity of its being and of all being." He then speaks of Bruno's luxuriant fancy as "Bacchantic;" and Carrière says of

¹ It was related of the renowned Dr. Watts that the same obligation was conferred on him by Nature, and that on being whipped by his father for writing verses, he asked pardon in poetry, and got another beating. When Benjamin West made paint brushes out of the cat's tail, personal chastisement was en-

tailed on him by that action, for Quakers have a conscientious objection to graven and molten images. The repression ought to have been indefinitely extended; to spare the rod was to spoil the artist. "Art," said an amateur to Constable, "is a passion with me." "It is a bad passion," replied the great painter.

him, "The personal energy of his thoughts endows him with vivid dramatic power; he writes in verse because he discerns that unity is all things and all things are unity; the harmony of the universe possesses him, like a chord of the cosmic lyre of Apollo." Carrière concludes his appreciative and excellent criticism by saying that Bruno's spirit, thus attuned to the music of the spheres, could not fail to manifest itself in harmonious expression, quoting in illustration some admirably-rendered lines in German from *De Immenso* (p. 201, Fiorentino's edition), which may be roughly translated thus:—

"'Tis thou, O Spirit, dost within my soul
This weakly thought with thine own life amend,
Rejoicing, dost thy rapid pinions lend
Me, and dost wing me to that lofty goal
Where secret portals ope and fetters break,
And thou dost grant me, by thy grace complete,
Fortune to spurn, and death; O high retreat,
Which few attain, and fewer yet forsake! . . .

Girdled with gates of brass in every part,
Prisoned and bound in vain, 'tis mine to rise
Through sparkling fields of air to pierce the skies,
Sped and accoutred by no doubting heart,
Till, raised on clouds of contemplation vast,
Light, leader, law, Creator, I attain at last."

Again, when contemplating, as in a vision, the heights and the nether world, Bruno invokes the love which unites sea and sky and the earth our mother, and prays that love may wound and quicken him till darkness is changed into light, and he, becoming one vast eye, may behold the past, the present, and the future hovering around him in an encircling procession.¹ Solger speaks of these poetic outpourings as hymns of philosophy, and remarks with some acuteness that Bruno appears to have attained philosophy by means of mysticism.

With such vigorous characteristics it is impossible

¹ This idea will be found in some of the sonnets in *The Heroic Rapture*.

Bruno should fall into the dulness and dryness of his master Lully. All his life he had felt the need of giving his thoughts poetic expression, and even the Grand Art was invested by him with the pictures and symbols, with the allegoric subtlety and admirable variety of his own creative fancy. All that fantastic scholasticism, hieroglyphic designs, kabbalistic and geometric quibbles, dialogues, verses, and even play of words could do to vary and enliven the subject was done by Bruno. His different books on the art are, as Bartholmèss says, different aspects of one country; and a general survey of them is all that is necessary, for the aim of each is to demonstrate the point of unity in which both reality and ideality are combined and from which they are developed. Thus man must turn to the foundation-head; to the Divine Being from whom all things emanate, and in whom they are; to the inspiration of that Being which permits one in union with Him to participate in Him and to comprehend all things. This view is clearly derived from the Kabbalah. It will be necessary later to notice a certain relationship between Spinoza and Bruno. Spinoza was called by Kant "the Cartesian of the Kabbalah," and it may have been on the common meeting-ground of Hebrew philosophy that the two thinkers acquired a certain likeness in their ideas. Bruno's leaning towards Platonism, his fervid and bold imagination, and his love of mysticism combined to throw him on the Kabbalah. But he imprinted all he touched with the sign manual of his own individuality. His poetic genius came to his aid, and showed him that the world is not a mere concourse of barren images multiplied by each other in endless rotation. The figures of which he made use were types not of earth but of heaven; a double significance waited on these symbols; they were real shadows of ideal things; and in this way he hoped to reconcile the warring schools, and to show the link between ideality and reality. The words by

which objects are represented to our senses are signs; the objects themselves are forms; they are the shadows of ideas, eternal and creative, and they proceed from the Creator.

This sublime mission Bruno believed himself called upon to expound and to lead; and in the Kabbalah he found the term which denominates Divine Wisdom—*Choemah*, the inaccessible light which is beyond the world and humanity. Being infinite, it is known only to infinity; and thus in its fulness “the Divine supernatural Essence” (*Wagner*, i. 233), “the most high contemplation of which rises beyond Nature” (*ib.* 275), “is debarred from our consideration.”

This principle, according to the Kabbalah, descends within the grasp of our comprehension by means of ten Sephiroth or Intelligences, to which it communicates itself. The Kabbalah permits, and even enjoins, the use of allegory. From the figure of an archetypal man, of whom the earthly man is a faint copy, emanate intelligences, powers, and angelic principalities like rays from the sun; they differ from each other and from the sun; and they form a strict unity. The mysticism of the Hebrew doctors endows these Intelligences with sex. The right side of the archetypal Man (with the Intelligences flowing from it) is masculine, and represents Justice; his left side is feminine, and represents Mercy. The union of these Intelligences produces the universe in their image; and the crown and completion of the universe is Man. “Just as we see in the firmament above, covering all things, different signs which are formed of the stars and the planets, and which contain secret things and profound mysteries studied by those who are wise and expert in these things; so there are in the skin, which is the cover of the body of the son of man, and which is like the sky that covers all things above, signs and features which are stars and planets of the skin, indicating secret things and profound mysteries whereby

Amala Zent.

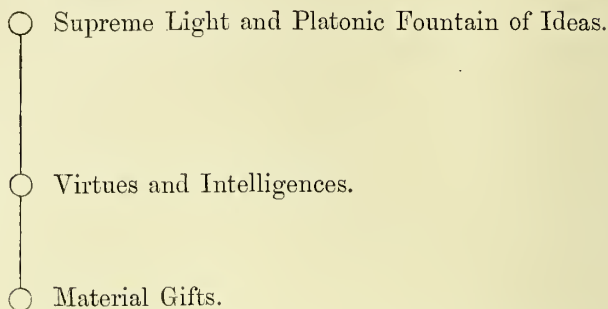
Chemi-

the wise are attracted who understand the reading of the mysteries of the human face" (*Zohar*, ii. 76; quoted by Ginsburg, art. "Kabbalah," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ed. 1881).

A full description of the procession of the Intelligences from the Supreme Light will be found at the beginning of the *Cabal* (W. ii. 266, 267); and in the *Expulsion* (W. ii. 228), where the subject is developed, it receives striking and masterly treatment. After tracing the Kabbalah to Egypt, through Moses, who was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, Bruno points out the likeness between religious systems, and their equality, as modes of attaining to the true God. The Ineffable Name which stands at the head of the Intelligences, and from which, in their various degrees, all lower excellences proceed, is represented in "the magical and divine worship of Egypt," by "the God of gods, and the Fountain of ideas above Nature." The Powers and Intelligences lower in the Hebrew scale stand for the ancient gods which preside over the various benevolences of Nature. To ask the sea for fish was to call upon Neptune; when the sun was entreated to shine, he was invoked as Apollo; the earth became Ceres, and the woods Diana. But these seeming gods in Nature were in truth various ideas of God, who is above Nature (W. ii. 228).

"Thus in all things whatever, and in every effect, each in its own degree, the ancients beheld Divinity; and they knew all things after their kind in the lap of Earth, and how to obtain them, and their virtues" (W. ii. 228). Bruno then brings the subject to a striking and emphatic close. Using the inductive method, he argues, in an ascending scale, from the particular to the general, from the gifts to the giver, from that which is beautiful and wisely contrived to Beauty and Wisdom. Here we may descry clearly the connection between the Platonic doctrine and the Kabbalah, with their influence on the philosophy of Bruno.

The conception is made plain by reducing it to a rough table.



Man is placed side by side with this conception. In the lowest stage of his intelligence man perceives God passively and through the medium of his own wants and comforts. This is a concrete conception, and corresponds with the stage marked Material Gifts in our table. In the next stage God is made manifest actively by his qualities or attributes. This is an abstract conception, and corresponds with the degree marked Virtues and Intelligences in the table.

In the last and highest stage, God is known not by his gifts only, nor by his gifts and his attributes, but as himself. Being infinite, he cannot be known by the finite. This degree, therefore, is beyond our grasp, and is the proper logical standing-ground of faith. . . . ("The knowledge of not knowing brings forth faith," Cusa.)

It is in establishing the link between these conceptions, in announcing their true place to be in man's intelligence, in claiming value for every religion, and in declaring the relation of all religions to God that Bruno's greatness lies. "So," he concludes, "every man in his own tongue calls upon a God, an angel, an intelligence, a power, yet in the end the whole deity is found to be one source, as all light is of the first Principle, which in itself is lucid; and as the images which are in diverse and countless mirrors

(or individual subjects) are of one formal and ideal principle, which is their source."

The system of Lully was, at the best, but a crutch; yet Bruno cherished hopes that it would become like Aaron's rod, which budded; that it would work miracles, and be at last laid up in that "vast temple which is our earth, the palace and shrine of the Most High."

Only the desire to prove the unity of thought and being in strict mathematical terms could have induced Bruno to espouse a method in all respects opposed to his nature. He found a system of empty and barren outlines. Aided by his knowledge of the classics, he enlarged and beautified the art, and did with a desert and sandy soil all that learning, ingenuity, and vigour could accomplish. The Grand Art was to be more than a mere tool, more than a "key," a "weapon," or a "torch." Future generations were to receive it at the hand of philosophy; it was to be the very edifice, light, and treasure of truth. The unity of science, developed and applied by the Grand Art, was to replace the Organon of the Stagyrte. The laws of reason are unchanging, because they are divine; the universe follows them like their shadow, their evidence is irresistible, their authority is supreme; they constitute the unity of the thinker with thought, of the mind with knowledge.

This sense of mystic unity is altogether opposed to the method of Aristotle. His categories, Bruno says frankly, lead to no end. They are confused; and their point of departure is from probability, not from proof. But Bruno required a philosophic system, producing the very principles of the highest science, the essential ideas, and the primitive elements of truth. Perhaps, too, he looked to his art to recover the faded traces of the former life, in which Socrates and Plato believed, and to which St. Augustine himself did not deny a title of nobility (*Socraticum illud nobillissimum inventum*, St. Aug., ep. vii. conf. x. 12, 26, 27).

Math. Nor must it be forgotten that Bacon himself, who could not tolerate Lully, considers the memory (*retinere*) as one of the four essential parts of his method. But Bruno desired to apply this marvellous faculty of memory not to the mere vulgar facts of personal history, but to the eternal history of the universe and of humanity; to that which is, rather than to that which passes away; to being and the Idea, not to shadows and figures. "Antiquity," he says (Gfr. 306, 345, 359, 360, 558), "was astounded by the progress possible to the memory which rises from a vast store of notions to a notion in its turn containing the germs of fresh subjects of thought." But antiquity laid down no rules for the mind in the development of the memory, and these it was Bruno's desire to supply. A well-formed judgment must either extend the sphere of our knowledge or enlighten it, and Bruno looked to the Grand Art as the means of arriving at well-balanced judgments by a mechanical process. The march of thought must be regulated by law; it rests on a foundation which observation reveals but does not create. Thought in a sane and orderly condition operates with the regularity of arithmetical and geometric progression; and he believed it unreasonable that there should be any radical opposition between the laws governing the mind and matter, between our conceptions and the real objects on which they are based.

But the toughness and ingratitude of the art forced its enthusiastic advocate in several of his works to exhort the reader to patience, and to encourage him with the assurance that great things are designed by the gods to be difficult of attainment (Gfr. 206, 335). He is so persuaded of the rare excellence and use of the method that he counts it an honour to be a Lullist (628). He was attracted as a lad (Gfr. 526) by discerning the fact that beneath the signs and symbols of Lullism lay a philosophic doctrine which had escaped the master himself (252, 278, 260, 242). The spark (*modica favilla-sparsum semen*,

527) which caught his imagination was the point, the Monad, the atom; that from which all things proceed; and this, with some prescience of modern thought, he calls the germ of the immensity of the universe. Thus, while retaining the letter of Lullism, Bruno completely reformed the spirit of the art; and the *Monad*, one of his best works, though owning the influence of Lully, attains in its wide scope and lofty aim to enlightenment far beyond the reach of the Catalonian monk.

CHAPTER V.

“History is a council in perpetuity, in which the voice of every nation is heard, living voices which are the echoes of Providence. Nothing can prevail against the assembly of the ages; private excommunications and anathemas are empty forms in the hour of universal alliance and reconciliation.”—EDGAR QUINET.

England, 1583-85. M. Castelnau de Mauvissière. Doctrine of Ecstasy. Traces of German Mysticism. Bruno at Oxford, June 1583. His Lectures on the Immortality of the Soul. The Printer Vautrollier. Sidney.

HAVING printed a comedy entitled the *Candle-Bearer*, which was probably composed some years before, in a Neapolitan cloister, Bruno took his departure from Paris. Clément (*Bibliothèque Curicuse*, vol. v. 294) marks the *Candle-Bearer* “very rare,” and says, “With all the care I have taken to look for this piece in the greatest libraries, and even in foreign countries, I have not been able to find it.” Abbé Goujet mentions the comedy in the *Bibliothèque Française* (vol. viii.), and he says of the French translation, *Boniface et le Pédant*, that it is anonymous, in prose, and ill-written. Tiraboschi does not appear to have read the play; and Lewes, in his *Biographical History of Philosophy*, copies the analysis given by Bartholmèss, perhaps on the principle of Piron, who, when speaking of our literary forerunners, says, “*Leurs écrits sont des vols qu’ils nous ont faits d’avancee.*” Ueberweg says in his *History of Philosophy* (vol. ii. p. 26), “According to the theory of Falkson (*Giordano Bruno*, p. 289) and of Benno Tschischwitz (Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*; Halle, 1868), Shakespeare became acquainted with a comedy

entitled *El Candelajo* (*sic*), written by Bruno while residing in London (1583-86), and perhaps with others of his writings, and derived from them some of the ideas—particularly on the subject of the indestructibility of the material elements and the relativity of evil—which he expresses by the mouth of the Danish Prince."

A passage which has excited comment, because of its resemblance to Shakespeare, will be found in the Dialogues of the *Cause* (W. i. 253)—"Seest thou not that what was seed becomes grass, the grass becomes corn, the corn becomes bread, bread becomes chyle, blood, man; the man becomes a corpse, and that turns to earth, and so forth, till all things attain to all the forms of Nature."

"To me," says Furness, "this similarity is of the faintest;" yet the passage may suggest a comparison with Hamlet's speech to Horatio (act v. scene 1). "Why may not imagination trace the noble dust of Alexander till he find it stopping a bung-hole? . . . As thus: Alexander died, Alexander was buried; the dust is earth; of earth we make loam; and why of that loam, whereto he was converted, might they not stop a beer-barrel?"

Tschischwitz marks for comparison with Bruno the passage in which Octavio asks Manfurio, "What is the matter of your verse?" and Manfurio answers, "Words, words, words." The excellent Mrs. Pott, in her *Promus*, lands herself in a slough of despond when founding a theory of identity on the fact that Shakespeare and Lord Bacon wrote "Good-morrow." What could any man read but words? Tschischwitz, however, goes further, and the reader fares worse. When Polonius is answered by "Slanders, sir; for the satirical rogue says here that old men have grey beards," and so forth, Tschischwitz believes Hamlet must have been reading Bruno's *Expulsion*, because it contains a like description of old age. Was not Hamlet's reply dictated by his own "antic disposition," and by the appearance of Polonius, as children

sometimes pretend to read correction to their elders out of books? Furness, in his *New Variorum Shakespeare*, dismisses the suggestion of Tschischwitz. But, quoting from Klein's *History of the Drama*, Furness adds that Bruno delivered lectures at Wittenberg during the year that Hamlet was a student there, and that Hamlet might have attended them—supposing that he, like most of Shakespeare's characters, was the poet's contemporary.

The names of three Englishmen appear on the register of Wittenberg during the years 1590–92. They are Fynes Morison of Lincolnshire, Anthony Everstild of Sussex, and Martin Turner of York. One or other of these must have been the friend of the writer of *Hamlet*. It is more than probable that Morison was known to Bacon. But to connect either of these names with the life of Bacon would, perhaps, be a greater triumph for the painstaking Mrs. Pott than the fact that both Shakespeare and Bacon wrote "Good-morrow" and used the word "really." Furness continues thus:—"Although Tschischwitz is evidently convinced of the genuineness of his discovery, he is moderate in his demands on those who are inclined to be sceptical, and says that he does not wish to maintain that Shakespeare went any deeper into Bruno's system than served his immediate purpose in *Hamlet*, but that such instances of parallelism as he adduces prove that when Shakespeare wrote *Hamlet* he had ascended to the height of the consciousness that had been attained in those days (*Zeitbewusstsein*), and had become familiar with the most abstract of sciences." Another critic (*Shakespeariana*, vol. i., No. 12, Oct. 1884; Philadelphia, L. Scott; London, Trübner), in an article entitled "Shakespeare and Giordano Bruno," desires to prove from the passage, "If the sun breed maggots in a dead dog, being a God-kissing carrion," that the author of *Hamlet* knew the works of Bruno ("*Sol et homogeneant hominem*") and was acquainted with the atomic theory. The correspondent goes further, and from the

facts that no translation of the *Expulsion* existed until 1713, and that no English form of the poem by Parmenides on Nature appeared till the beginning of the seventeenth century, he seeks to deduce the fact that the author of *Hamlet* knew both Greek and Italian, "as was the case with the learned Francis Bacon."

The grounds for this assumption are small, but they may interest the reader.

Bruno was at the Court of Elizabeth from 1583 to 1585. Bacon, though only twenty-five when Bruno's visit ended, was called to the Bar in 1581, and it was unlikely that a distinguished lad, and one related to the Cecils, was not acquainted with illustrious visitors at Court. Moreover, two facts pointed out by the Rev. B. Wrey Savile, of Exeter (the correspondent in question), are sufficiently important. At the age of fifteen Bacon wrote an essay adverse to the Aristotelian philosophy; and the atomic philosophy as interpreted by Bruno and by Descartes, his son in philosophy, was entertained by Bacon. Many curious points of contact with Bruno will reward the seeker in Bacon's philosophy. The simile of the carver which occurs in the Second Dialogue of the *Cause* was taken bodily from Bruno. We have, moreover, the curious expression, "that true form is such that it deduces the particular nature from some source of essence, existing in many subjects, and more known (as they term it) to Nature than the form itself" (*Novum Organon*, Book ii. aphor. 4), which is repeated in part from the words of Bruno (W. ii. 229), "God, as an absolute Being, is not concerned with us; but in so far as he communicates himself to the effects of Nature, he is nearer to Nature than Nature itself; so that if he is not Nature itself, he is of a surety the Nature of Nature, and he is the soul of the soul of the world, if he is not the soul itself." The effect of Bruno's theory of form on the philosophy of Bacon may be traced in the *Novum Organon* (Book ii. aphor. 1, 4, 13, 15, 17). Bacon's term,

"form," means no more than law ("For the form of a thing is its very essence"), and with Bruno¹ form and matter are terms which stand for forces (*Cause*, Dialogue iii.)

It is difficult, without considerable help from the imagination, to reduce the England of to-day to its slender proportions in the age of Elizabeth. The country was weak; Ireland was unruly; Scotland, with its strong party of Catholics, was a continual source of danger. Spain was an open enemy; France was the ally of the Scotch and the humble servant of the Pope. Our revenue was but half a million, and our entire population exceeded by about a quarter of a million the present population of London. London then contained about one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. It was hardly the equal of Antwerp; in many respects it was inferior to Paris and Lisbon. Its sanitary condition was so imperfect that the deaths almost equalled the births taking place within its walls. A coil of dirty narrow streets, each with a black gutter which ran down the centre of the road; the houses tall and high, with overhanging upper storeys and gables shutting out the daylight; one hundred and twenty churches, conspicuous among which was the enormous mass of old St. Paul's, with its solid square tower; a single street leading from the Tower by the river, and past Westminster Hall and Southwark Bridge, with its double row of shops and houses, to the

¹ Scheible, in his work *Die Sage vom Faust* (Stuttgart, 1847, page 223 *seq.*), makes an attempt to identify the Bruno of Marlow's *Faust* with the Nolan philosopher. There are some obscure lines in the British Museum (*Epigrammes and Elegies*, by J. D. and C. M., 32mo; at Middlesborough, 1590?) which seem to show that Marlow—since he is supposed to be the writer—applied the name Bruno to a living personage. The lines run as follows:—

"Bruno which thinks himself a faire
sweet youth
Is thirty-nine years of age at least;
Yet was he never, to confess the truth,
But a dry starveling when he was at
best," &c.

Strangely enough the "loathed Lollard and base schismatic" Bruno, is sent to Wittenberg, and condemned to be burnt alive. The bill for these additions to Marlow's play, which were made some years after the poet's death, is still extant.

stately houses, each in its own garden, which edged the Thames,—such was London in the time of Elizabeth.

“Miracles,” said Shakespeare, “are ceased;” but, indeed, miracles and revelation were then abundant. In the “green islands and golden sands” of the distant Spanish main a new world had arisen as if by magic out of the bosom of the watery waste. This El Dorado was said to contain wedges of clean gold as large as a man’s hand; with streets broader and richer than those of London, cottages stored with pearl, and banqueting-houses built of crystal, with pillars of massy silver and gold. Moreover, the natives were said to worship and to hold converse with a devil which assumed the shape of a calf; and there were monsters in the land as large as two ordinary oxen, which it was great sport to kill, besides fiery dragons which reddened the air through which they travelled. Perhaps the crowning marvel of the age was the discovery of the Bible, for centuries sepulchred in the cells of monks. Within its newly unfolded pages lay another and a better world. In the surpassing beauty of its ethics was the assurance of a new life; it came bringing fire and sword, and yet was full of promises, sweet as the honey-bee which was fabled to have built in the mouth of Plato.

Heine, with an incomplete appreciation of what was in truth the dawn of a new day, describes England at the time of Shakespeare as “shining with the last rays of the perishing light of chivalry.” When Bruno visited London, however, it shone with the more sinister and disastrous glow of fires, which, spreading from Paris to peaceful German and Italian market-places on the one hand, and to Smithfield on the other, were yet to free the air for ever from spiritual tyranny. The enlightened and scholarly qualities of Elizabeth were not shared by her people. The London mob hated foreigners. Writing to Baudius, Casaubon says, “It is not the manner of the English to import distinguished men of learning from

other countries." And Thomson writes to the same correspondent (1605), "Our English students¹ seldom travel abroad, so that you need not wonder that you see few of them where you are."

In the short demand made by the Patriarch and the members of the tribunal of the Inquisition in Venice for the extradition of Bruno (Doc. xix.), a special accusation is brought against him as an heresiarch and a writer of books praising the Queen of England and other heretic princes. "I have praised," he says in his reply (Doc. xiii.), "many heretics and heretic princes, not as heretics, but only on account of the moral virtue which they possessed; . . . and in my book *Of the Cause* I praise the Queen of England, calling her a goddess, not in religion, but as an epithet given by the ancients to princes; and in England, where I was when I wrote the book, it is their habit to give the title of goddess to the Queen; and I was the more induced to give her that name because she knew me and I went continually to Court with the ambassador."

According to Lord Clarendon, it was usual humbly to follow the Court before aspiring to become what is called by Sir Philip Sydney "a smally learned courtier." But for Bruno it was unnecessary to serve any such apprenticeship. Furnished with letters from the King of France to his ambassador in London, M. de Castelnau, the Nolan took leave of Paris, "on account of the tumults" (Doc. ix.), arriving in England in the spring of 1583. "Queen Elizabeth," the Italian ambassador wrote of her (*Relazione degli ambasciatori Veneti*, S.I., vol. ii.), "speaks the Italian language, and takes so much pleasure in it that, from ambition, she will speak no other language with Italians"—in itself fortunate, for Bruno could not speak

¹ According to Scioppius, there was good reason why English students did not travel abroad. In 1615 he wrote, "If James were richer than the Pici who dwell on the golden mountains, he will not be able to get together twenty learned men in England."

English. "Being asked if he understood English (W. i. 151), "the Nolan said 'No;' and he told the truth; . . . for though he hath taught a year in this country, he understands no more than two, or at most three, very ordinary words, which he knows are greetings; . . . but he knows not their meaning; . . . for all gentle and loyal men, with whom alone he holds converse, speak Latin, French, Spanish, or Italian; they, knowing that the English language is nowhere used but in this island, would hold themselves to be savages if they could speak no language but their own. And it is also true," he continues, "there are many who are gentlemen in nothing but race, and with whom, therefore, for their advantage and ours, it is well to have no further acquaintance."

With the favour shown by the Court to Italians, added to his own gifts in oratory and philosophy, which were best displayed in Latin, he had a fair prospect of advancement in London; and here, accordingly, we find that he printed several works on the Art of Memory; while it was here also that his chief Italian works saw the light, mostly under the auspices of the French ambassador, M. Castelnau de Mauvissière. Castelnau was a striking figure even in an age renowned for men above the common. He was "a prodigy of parts;" dexterous and resolute, fond of letters, a munificent protector, and an attached friend. He had translated a treatise by Ramus on the manners and customs of the Gauls, and as the author also of some excellent memoirs, he knew that the solace and variety of honest labour ought to be free from the pangs of hunger. Sieur de Castelnau Mauvissière was born in 1520 near Tours. Brantôme speaks of him with admiration as M. de Castelnau de Languedoc, and he is variously styled by other writers. He was one of the first generation of statesmen by profession. Before his time countries had been ruled by soldiers or by priests; it remained for a third profession to combine the arts of war and peace. His mind was just and penetrating, his memory pro-

digious, his courage unimpeachable. He travelled much, and having visited various courts, learnt enough of government in each to feel assured that he was justified in refusing a military career, though for a short time he accepted service in the French marine. His religious sentiments were warm, but they were just, and his tolerance did not approach indifference. His observations are profound, and his literary style is said to be modelled on that of Philippe de Comines, but perhaps only as the sentiments of one earnest and sagacious observer resemble those of another when expressed in simple and dignified language.

Castelnau had two daughters, Marie and Elizabeth, and two sons, for whom his admirable memoirs were written. Unfortunately the work was only carried down to the year 1569; and thus we have no record of Bruno's visit to the ambassador. We may quote a passage (page 185, ed. Petitot) showing the memoirs were written after Castelnau knew Bruno:—"For it is certain that the ruin and perdition of one kingdom is for the preservation and growth of others; and no man loses anything in this world on the right hand which some other does not gain on the left; and out of the corruption of many things comes generation." A passage suggesting these words will be found at the end of the *Cause* (W. i. 291), and in the preface to the *Candle-Bearer*. Again, in speaking of the murderers of Rizzio, Castelnau makes use of the expression, "Time, the eternal bearer of vicissitude," which may be traced to the *Expulsion* (W. ii. 121, 122). The philosophic turn of his mind appears in his temperate judgment and in his patient search for reasons and causes, among which, as Bartholmèss has pointed out, he did not forget to note "necessity, which is not subject to the laws of man." Justice is represented by him as the "foundation of human society," and as altogether opposed to the changes of terrestrial things. He was firm and temperate in the matter of the religious

wars which were then turning France into a debatable land; proving the excellence of his judgment in many passages which do his heart and understanding equal credit.

In the dedication to Castelnau of the *Opening of the Thirty Seals*, after speaking of his book as "a not ignoble offspring of the Muses," Bruno addresses the ambassador in a finely-turned compliment: "For those beholden to me are beholden to the Muses, and those beholden to the Muses are in truth beholden to you, who favour and guard them continually. For they are native to every soil, and not alien here, since, through an Italian scholar in distant Britain, you have extended to them the royal hospitality of France. Farewell! I thank you; and I would have you know him for ever bound to you for whom you have changed England into Italy, London into Nola, and the perils of a strange land into the sacred ties of home."

Four of his works were dedicated to his protector—the *Thirty Seals*, the *Supper of Ashes*, *Of the Cause*, and *Of Infinity*. In each he shows a grateful spirit towards Castelnau, offering him thanks for courteous hospitality, and for gentle and honourable treatment received at his hands. He is addressed as the Nolan's defence and the unique refuge of the Muses; and he is admonished to look towards Unity, which is the "texture, disposal, and order of the sciences," the "key without which it is impossible to enter into the true contemplation of Nature."

In the dedication of the *Cause* (W. i. 205) Bruno calls on the whole world to bear witness that to Castelnau alone is due the glory of fostering this generous and divine offspring of philosophy, which but for him would have withered in its swaddling-clothes; but "now it shall inherit life as long as this earth with her lively burden turns beneath the bright eternal aspect of the stars." This dedication is preceded by a fantastic catalogue of Bruno's perfections, contrasted with the odious miscon-

duct of his enemies. "I, whom no man durst accuse of ingratitude nor of discourtesy"—the pink of politeness, indeed—"and on whom none can justly lay any blame; having dwelt with you in your house, . . . defended by your gracious and ready succour and bountiful liberality; receiving sustenance which turned my scarcity and dearth into plenty, with a sufficient and stable defence against violent onslaughts of fortune, a sea of troubles, and huge perilous tempests, . . . to you I consecrate this my sheet-anchor; this poor little ship, laden with commodities most dear to me, and precious to succeeding generations" (W. i. 205), . . . "lest it be swallowed up in the iniquitous rage of my enemy, the ocean. Let these works hang in the sacred temple of Fame, to the end that they may prevail against the spells of ignorance and the voracity of Time, and may bear unfading witness of your grace and favour."

In the dedication of the *Infinity*, Bruno, after dwelling upon the philosophic scheme of the book, makes an appeal to Castelnau which is full of dignity, though moderately tinged with self-appreciation. (Epicurus wrote in the same strain: "If thy heart is stirred by love of glory, my letters will give thee greater glory than all those things which are honoured by thee, and in which thou seekest honour.") Bruno says: "I effectually recommend one to you, whom you are not to entertain among your domestics as having need of him, but as a person having need of you. . . . You can neither be so much esteemed by the world, nor so acceptable to God for being beloved and favoured by the greatest monarch on earth, as for loving, cherishing, and maintaining such as these; for there is nothing that your superiors in fortune can do for you, who surpass many of them in virtue, which will endure when your walls and tapestries have perished; but you may do that for others which may come to be written in the book of eternity, since that which you receive from others is a testimony

of their virtue, while that which you do for others is the token and express image of your own."

In the *Supper of Ashes* (W. i. 199) he again commends himself to "the most illustrious and most generous soul of Seigneur de Mauvissière," under whose auspices so much solemn philosophy has seen the day, "that there may perchance be found some sufficient means by which the stars and the powers on high should guide the Nolan to a spot remote from outrage." In this tone of timorous solicitation, so foreign to his usual manner, he shares, with all poor men of humble means and great powers, the longing to be free from want and from the insults which too often followed upon his haughty and imperious conduct. Throughout his troubled life he looked in vain for a retreat. Peace and safety were denied him; and his hope to obtain them and to enjoy their use, apart from the changes of this checkered world, with its fleeting appearances and transitory joy, was never destined to be realised.

Of himself he says that he is "of fools hated, of the mean slighted, reviled by rascals, followed by sheepish souls, beloved by the wise, admired by the learned, esteemed by the great, treasured by the mighty, favoured by God." In another place he says (W. i. 129) he had "freed men's minds and knowledge, cleared the air, penetrated the skies, wandered among the stars, stridden over the edges of the world, demolished the fantastic ramparts of the spheres, illuminated the blind, given speech to the dumb, and made manifest . . . the myriad bodies in heaven which assist in the ministry and contemplation of the first, universal, infinite, and Eternal Efficient."

"Envy," said Cosimo de' Medici, "is a plant that must not be watered." Bruno not only did not avoid disputes, but, conscious to the full of the value of his doctrine, he never lost an opportunity for bringing it forward, writing, teaching, and trusting to friction to bring about an

improvement only to be effected by gentler means. He included in one condemnation every philosopher, illustrious or obscure, dead or living, who ignored or mistook the true principles of natural science. The first rank in any art or science was not his, but he touched every subject, moved many, was ardent and sincere in all he undertook; "for," he says, "by stirring, stimulating, surprising, contradicting, exciting men's minds, they are made fruitful; and this, according to Socrates, is a salutary vocation."

In another place he writes (W. ii. 195), "Administer me that leisure by the help of which I may accomplish better and more excellent things than what I leave undone; for in the house of Leisure sits Counsel and a happy life. There are occasions best perceived; there Labour is more vigorous and successful, for it is impossible to run well without being first well placed. Thou, Leisure, afford me the means to be esteemed less idle than all others, because by thy help I shall be able to do service to the commonwealth, and my words will be a better defence to my country than its swords and shields, its tribunes or its emperors."

The philosophy of Bruno was deeply imbued with German mysticism. A direct influence on his mind was exercised by Nicholas, Cardinal-Archbishop of Cusa. All the doubt and difficulty arising from our failure to apprehend the nature of God was to be vanquished, according to Cusa (*De Conjecturis*), by ecstasy, which has power to overcome the world and all things hemming in the soul. Professor Carrière traces the relation of this mystic ecstasy to the Indian *Bhagavad-Ghita*, in which man is enjoined to withdraw himself, to lose his soul in Brahma, and to find Brahma in his soul.

"To understand," says Bruno, "is to see forms and figures in the imagination, and intelligence is imagination, or not devoid of imagination" (Gfr. 529). These words are important if we would master the peculiar

views of the philosopher. His mission was not that of exact inquiry; he did not desire to establish facts by a slow intellectual process: he sought to enter into the very nature and quintessence of things by means of that intellectual intuition which was called by his master, Nicholas of Cusa, an organ of the highest knowledge.¹ In his poems especially, Bruno describes that exalted impulse of the feeling and the will on which great stress is laid by the Cardinal-Archbishop. The aim of the Nolan philosophy is to overcome the fear of death and to fill the soul with noble aspirations; and the teaching of Bruno is always full of personal interest, even when it is not altogether supported by scientific principles.

In many points the doctrines of Aquinas professed by Bruno nearly approached that of Meister Eckhart, who is defined by Ueberweg as a spiritualised Thomist. Eckhart has several other points of contact with Bruno. According to the German mystic, God communicates himself to all things, to each according to the measure of its ability to receive him. Corresponding passages occur in the *Expulsion* (W. ii. 226, 227, 343, 409, &c.) "If thou wilt know God divinely," says Eckhart, "thy knowledge must be changed to ignorance." This is the doctrine of the *Cabal* (W. ii. 271). Again, Eckhart gives to evil the character of privation (*Intentio*, xxi.)

It was the design of Eckhart to point out the nearest way to union with God. On account of its abuses he severed himself from the Church. He rejected Scholasticism with its artifices in learning, and commended that supra-rational cognition which dominates all the faculties (the same with the *ἀφ᾽* of Plotinus), and, pressing onward, attains at last the very sources of the soul, the absolute, the unity, beyond which is nothing. "When," says Meister Eckhart, "the reason arrives at the limit of her power, there remains a transcendent sphere, which she

¹ Schelling held Bruno in high philosophy of identity." (Schelling's esteem as "the forefather of the *Bruno*, 1802, pp. 310, 328-332.)

cannot fathom. This she then reveals in the innermost recesses of the soul, where reason and will stand in living interchange, or in the will; and the will, illuminated by the divine light, plunges into a state of not-knowing, and turns from all perishable light to the highest good—to God. Thus faith arises, an exaltation which, beginning with the understanding, takes possession of the whole soul, and guides it to its highest perfection.”

Eckhart, however, with sound sense, remarks that mere contemplation is selfishness, and that if a man were in an ecstasy like St. Paul, and knew of one needing a little pottage, he should quit his ecstasy and minister to the needy; for works do not cease when sanctification is attained, but rather multiply.

Immediately after his arrival in London, Bruno addressed himself to the University of Oxford in a prefix to the *Opening of the Thirty Seals*. This was appropriately styled the *Awakener*; and, like Descartes, who informed the magistrates of Utrecht that he knew more philosophy than the whole of their academicians, Bruno accosts the University with a blast of trumpets. “Philotheus Jordanus Brunus of Nola,” he wrote, “a doctor in perfected theology; a professor of pure and blameless wisdom; a philosopher known, approved, and honorifically acknowledged by the foremost academies of Europe; to none a stranger, save barbarians and the vulgar; a waker of slumbering souls; a breaker of presumptuous and stubborn ignorance; who, in all his dealings, professes love to all men, love to the Italian and to the Briton, to man and woman, to the mitre and to the crown, to him wearing a toga and to the warrior, to the frocked and to the unfrocked, but who is inclined chiefly to him whose way is peaceable, enlightened, true, and fruitful; who looks not to the anointed head nor to the consecrated brow, not to the pure in hand nor to the circumcised, but thither where man’s true countenance is to be found, towards his soul, and the perfection of his

spirit; whom dispensers of foolishness and hypocrites abhor; whom upright and sincere men love; whom noble souls receive with acclamation,—To the honoured and noble Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford and to his fellows, greeting.”

The rough staff of Brutus, we are told, contained a rod of gold; and this extravagant address, like Don Quixote's balsam, was not to be appreciated except by “persons of honour and discernment.” When Bruno's turn came to visit the more enlightened academies, he addressed them in a different spirit. To Wittenberg he puts forward his humble claim as “a wanderer, a stranger, and an exile;” and to the Rector of the Sorbonne in Paris he appeals in dignified language from the tribunal of antiquity to “Nature and the laws of a beneficent Divinity.” The mock-heroic vein reappears in the dedication of the *Cabal* to the Bishop of Casamarciano, which contains a fair share of those rousing epithets adapted by Bruno to the slumbering state of Oxford.

There was, in fact, little life in the English universities.¹ Edinburgh and Dublin were at the outset of their career; and if there had been a maturity of performance, it was surely to be expected from the elder foundations, since they had passed the age of promise. Of these antique seats of learning, Oxford, “the right eye and the light of the whole realm,” was under the rule of the intriguer Leicester, and the circumspect Burleigh governed Cam-

¹ Hentzner notes that in 1598 the students led a life almost monastic. Erasmus affirmed, says Holinshed, “that our orders far exceeded all the monastic institutions that ever were devised.” Fuller writes as follows: “And thus much in general of our noble universities, whose lands some greedy gripers do gape wide for, and of late have (as I hear) propounded sundry reasons whereby they supposed to have prevailed in their purposes. But who are those that have attempted this suit, other than

such as either hate learning, piety, and wisdom, or else have spent all their own? In Queen Mary's time the weather was too warm for any such course to be taken in hand. What comfort should it be for any good man to see his country brought into the estate of the old Goths and Vandals, by means whereof those people become savage tyrants and merciless hell-hounds, till they restored learning again, and thereby fell to civility.”

bridge. The Queen, who was the head of the Church, piqued herself on her supremacy in letters.

The universities were subject to the Star Chamber, which checked the growth of learning. No printers were licensed except in London, Oxford, and Cambridge; every publication was rigorously examined, and more than one printing-press was demolished by order. Free discussion was impossible except on such sterile subjects as arose out of the dissensions of the Church. Calvinist rose against Calvinist, Puritans against Episcopalians, and the whole against the Catholics—a name so hated that no knowledge, either modern or antique, which was derived from Rome, could be tolerated in the stronghold of Protestantism. An unreasoning faith in Aristotle added rancour to the strife in religion. By the university statute it was enacted that no one could take a degree “in philosophy or in theology if he had not drunk at the fountain of Aristotle” (W. i. 226). The professors loved to enforce doctrines which they showed no patience in deciphering and no philosophy in interpreting.

Bruno, though he called Aristotle “a learned and judicious gentleman” (W. i. 180), attacked the followers of Aristotle as parrots (W. i. 175) and Sophists (*De Min.*, v. p. 98; W. ii. 281), “subtle metaphysicians of the cowl, seeking to excuse the insufficiency of Aristotle, their divinity” (W. i. 255). Learning, according to Lord Bacon (*Interpretation of Nature*), was “an infinite chaos of shadows and moths, wherewith both books and minds are pestered.” “They pursue words and neglect matter,”¹ Sir Philip Sidney writes to his brother Robert.

Bruno had little in common with “this ungracious crew,” as Spenser calls the Puritans. Oxford, in its

¹ Less than twenty years after we find (1612) issued by the Crown to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford instructions “according to which young students were to be incited to bestow their time in the fathers and councils, schoolmen, histories, and controversies, and not to insist too long on compendiums and abbreviations.”

intolerance, had become an Anglican Rome. The rule of the University ran counter to every new thing, and antiquity was either completely disregarded or treated as the source of innumerable quibbles. The Dons were court-nominees, following the Queen instead of living at Oxford; and Bruno describes them as "men arrayed in long robes of velvet, with hands most precious for the multitude of costly rings on their fingers, golden chains about their necks, and with manners as void of courtesy as cowherds" (W. i. 123, 137). The scholars were said to be ignorant, boorish, and indevout,¹ occupied in horse-play, drinking and duelling, toasting in ale-houses and country inns, or graduating in the noble science of defence. In short, they took their ease everywhere, whether in lecture-rooms or in taverns; and the Dons being usually at court, Oxford was in the plight of that Irish province which was said to be "full of absentees."

In June 1583 Bruno was permitted to hold a public disputation in Oxford before the Chancellor and an illustrious foreign visitor. He also delivered lectures on the immortality of the soul and the quintuple sphere (Doc. ix.) No trace of these lectures remains, and it would be hard to define his theory of immortality at this period, though his final belief is known through his deposition at his trial. "I have held, and I hold," he says (Doc. xii.), "that souls are immortal, and that they are subsisting substances (that is, the intellectual souls), and that, speaking in a catholic manner, they do not pass from one body to another, but they go either to paradise or to purgatory or to hell. Nevertheless in philosophy I have reasoned that the soul, subsisting without the body and non-existent in the body, may in the same way that it is in one body be in another, passing from one body into another; the

¹ A cause of disorder was the extreme youth of the students. Sidney held a public disputation at Oxford with a lad named Carew, then only fourteen, and yet of three

years standing; and Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, took his degree as Master of Arts at Cambridge when he was but sixteen years old.

which, if it is not true, at least appears to be the opinion of Pythagoras."

Bruno is convinced of the indestructibility of the central monad which constitutes our inmost being. "No substance being of itself dissoluble, we may not, according to Pythagoras, suffer fear of death, since we must await our passage to another place. For dissolution can only appear in that which is compounded, that which is no substance, but a circumstance, otherwise our substance would be continually changed by the perpetual flow of matter which enters into and issues from our bodies. So then we are that which we are by the indivisible substance of our souls, around which, like the centre, the atoms assemble, and from which they depart. Hence it happens that in birth and in growth the quickening spirit expands; it retires lastly to the heart, and departs by that way which was its entrance"¹ (*De Trip. Min.* 13).

"If, under the dominion and virtue of the soul, corporal matter, which is compounded, divisible, changeable, and consistent, is not subject to annihilation, and can in no point nor atom be annulled; that more excellent nature, the ruler, mover, vivifier, maintainer, and container of the flesh, cannot be of inferior condition. . . . This principle is the true man, and not an accident derived from the composition of the man. This is the divinity, the demon, the hero, the particular god, the intelligence . . . which moves and governs the body, and is in itself subject to the high justice which presides over all things" (*W. i.* 113).

Even at this early period when the *Expulsion* was written, Bruno did not enforce the doctrine of metempsychosis. He held it to be, "though not an article of faith, very well worthy of consideration" (*W. i.* 113). "Hence it may be concluded," says Chaufepie, "that Bruno speaks of a real metempsychosis." Toland, how-

¹ A beautiful and poetic German body will be found in Professor translation of Bruno's Latin verses Carrière's *Weltanschauung*, p. 452. on the relation of the soul to the

Shall. Somewhat.

cxlv.

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ever, says justly that by transmigration Bruno understands no more than vicissitude, and an eternal revolution of the different forms of matter.¹

The book on *Heroic Rapture* presents a clear view of Bruno's teaching. "The soul is not in the body locally, but as its intrinsic form and extrinsic mould, as that which makes the members and shapes the whole within and without. The body, then, is in the soul, the soul in the mind; the intelligence either is God or is in God, according to Plotinus, so as by its essence it is in God, who is its life, in the same manner by intellectual operation and the will consequent on such operation it is related to its light and its object" (W. ii. 335).

"For love, if it be finite, is fixed, and of a certain measure; but to behold it rising ever higher and higher is to know that it turns towards the Infinite" (W. ii. 372). "The intellectual power is appeased with comprehended truth only by advancing ever nearer and nearer to incomprehensible truth. The being of the soul is not related to any other end than to the source of its substance and entity" (W. ii. 392). "The divine perfection of the individual soul is the aim of all progression. The soul of man is comforted and receives all the glory of which finite nature is capable when it shares in the infinite love of the Divine" (W. ii. 336). "Love is more than knowledge"² (W. ii. 338).

¹ "The soul," says Saisset, when considering the philosophy of Bruno, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, vol. xviii., 1847, "is a monad. It is not the harmony of the unities which compose the body, but it is that which constitutes and maintains the harmony of the body. It is simple and uncompounded in being; and its unknown destiny may be on quitting its terrestrial dwelling to form and vivify other bodies, to travel through space from planet to planet, or to plunge once more into that ocean of goodness and light which is its natural abiding-place, *il natio*

seggiorno. Be this as it may, the soul knows and desires the infinite; it seeks after the means of becoming one with the infinite; therefore its end is to live for ever."

² "For even," says Spinoza, "the knowledge which we have of our own body is not such that we know it fully. And yet what union, what love! Thus may man by love receive the Infinite, though by knowledge he may not reach it. . . . God is nearer to us than our own body, and we know him better than we know ourselves."

Descartes.

Another argument for immortality is drawn from the infinite character of love.

"Q. How can our finite intellect pursue the infinite object ?

"A. With the infinite power which it possesses ; . . . for our finite intellect pursues the infinite object because the human mind is eternal, and therein is its delight ; and it has neither end nor measure in its felicity " (W. ii. 372).

Another argument is founded on the fact that, as the food of the soul is truth, which is immortal, the soul must be immortal as the food it feeds on. " Everything which requires nutrition " (W. ii. 406) " has a natural knowledge of its food ; to everything is inborn the understanding of those things which are necessary for the preservation of the individual and the stock, and which later furthers their perfection. On this knowledge depends the zeal with which food is sought ; and thus striving is implanted in the nature of all things, and from cognition emanate desire and love. The soul desires the beautiful, the good, and the true ; and as the seeing connects itself with the sight, so the desire connects itself with what is desirable."

A second argument to prove the separate nature of the body and soul is grounded on the fact that the soul cannot be nourished on bodily food only ; nor can the body live on food proper for the soul. Again, the body and soul do not resemble each other, as would be natural if they were one and the same essence ; but a great soul will dwell in a little crooked body, and the proportions of a hero do not necessarily envelop a heroic soul. Since the food for the soul is goodness and beauty and truth, it follows that they are incorporeal and spiritual things. Indeed we see that types are not to be found in natural bodies, though existing in the mind ; which again proves truth to be above matter ; while our desire for truth comes from an innate knowledge ; we cannot desire that which we do not know ; innate knowledge is a gift ; and

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Sonnet. CXLVII.
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a gift supposes a giver. "For I am assured that Nature has endowed me with an inward sense by which I can reason from the beauty before my eyes to the light and eminence of more excellent spiritual beauty, which is light, majesty, and divinity" (W. i. 175; W. ii. 381). "The soul" (W. ii. 416) "drinks of the divine nectar, and at the font of eternal life. . . . The light is beyond the circumference of the horizon . . . The soul which has tasted those eternal streams burns with an ardour of love which the ocean could not quench, and which the rigour of the arctic circle could not temper."¹

It is probable, remembering the infirmity of Bruno's temper, that these truths were placed in a light objectionable to the Oxford doctors; for his lectures roused an acrimonious spirit which resulted in his quitting the town. According to his version of the encounter, he was near coming to blows with the pedagogues, who were slenderly endowed in argument. They came armed, not with prudence and power, but with "hearts that died of cold, and learning that died of hunger." Fifteen times they rose to the fray, and fifteen times "that chicken in

¹ This reasoning may be contrasted with the Platonic arguments for immortality. The first is based on destruction. All moral things have their especial evil and destroying enemy. Blindness destroys the eye-sight—does wickedness destroy the soul? No. It may cause a man to be put to death by others. But nothing can destroy the soul, not even its own wickedness; therefore the soul is immortal (Book x. *Republic*). We perceive the soul dwindle and apparently disappear in bodies consumed by wickedness; but the same will happen in an injured or idiotic body when the soul wanders in illusions, babbling of green fields, and of its ruling passion, vanishing and reappearing like dying flashes in fire. The destruction, therefore, is apparent only, and, like the rain from heaven, it falls alike upon the

just and the unjust. In a second argument Socrates endeavours to show that the soul, like the eye, the ear, and every other thing, has a work or function to perform, and possesses a virtue by which alone it can be enabled to perform that work. This virtue of the soul is justice, which is a kind of natural harmony and healthy habit of mind, turning the mind from the shadows which are seen, to their forms or archetypes, from the visible to the invisible, and filling the soul with the divine, the immortal, the eternal, which it would itself become if it were invariably to pursue divine things. Thus all those pursuits which excite the mind to reflect upon the essential nature of things bring it under the dominion of a just and divine principle.

stubble," the Corypheus of the Academy, was worsted by the Nolan. "Let it be recounted to you," continues Bruno, "with what incivility and discourtesy that pig¹ proceeded, and with what patience and humanity that other responds, who showed the bearing of a Neapolitan born, of one nurtured under a more benignant sky. Learn, too, in what manner the Nolan's public lectures were brought to an end" (W. ii. 179).

Bruno's arguments were very ill received, as he himself said at Wittenberg (*De Lampade Combin.*), but there is no contemporary account of the disputation, and in about three months his career at Oxford was over. The house of Castelnau was his home, and he seems to have looked to the circle of friends in London for appreciation—the chief of these being Philip Sidney and Fulk Greville.

The printer Vautrollier² gave Giordano Bruno the

¹ Mediæval pedagogues commonly called each other pig, with accusations of buffoonery, discreditable pretension, ignorant and stupendous asinity, &c. Charpentier spoke of his rival Ramus as "un porc;" Luther called the schoolmen "locusts, caterpillars, frogs, lice." Goldast was "an execrable biped," "a lying monster," and the author of a "damnable book." Scaliger calls Marcile (who was professor of eloquence at the Royal College of France) a monkey, a scarabæus, and worse. The Elector of Saxony was called "a pig" by the Jesuit Guignar. Calvin and Beza, at the formal colloquy of Poissy, were distinguished as "apes, foxes, and monsters." Nor have modern times improved on this plain dealing, for O'Connell addressed his opponents in the House of Commons as "pigs and scorpions."

² Erdmann, *Basis for the History of Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 553. Ames's *Typographical Antiquities* contains the following:—"Thomas Vautrollier was a scholar and printer from Paris or Roan, came into England about the beginning of Queen

Elizabeth's reign, and first settled his printing-office in Black Friars. What he did to the year 1574 don't appear to me. He married his daughter Jakin to Richard Field, printer, in Black Friars, the 12th January 1588, and buried several children in that parish, as appears from their church books. He was a most curious printer, as will be evident to any that look into his books; and commonly used an anchor within a compartment, with this motto, *Anchora Spei*. Mr. Baker, in a letter to me, says he was the printer of Jordanus Brunus in the year 1584, for which he fled, and the next year being at Edinburgh, in Scotland, he first taught that nation the way of good printing, and there staid until such time as by the intercession of friends he had got his pardon, as appears by a book dedicated to the Right Worshipful Mr. Thomas Randolph, Esq., where he returns him thanks for his great favour and for assisting him in his distress; printed in octavo, 1587. '1584. — Spacio de la Bestia Trionfante, proposto da gioue, effet-

opportunity of explaining his philosophy in London. Here in quick succession his best Italian works were printed. "It cannot be called a chance," says Erdmann, "that he who had broken with the Church, and could hope for nothing from the universities, despised the language of both, and spoke in the speech which was his mother tongue, and favoured beyond all at the English court and in the refined circles of London." Accordingly we find that his only theme was no longer the art of Lully, with its antiquated and mystical symbols; and it is remarkable that the six philosophical works in Italian which were printed by Vautrollier in London do not contain a vestige of this complicated system.

In a second disputation, Bruno seems to have fared no better than at Oxford. He relates in the *Supper of Ashes* that Fulk Greville invited him with other persons, on the evening of Ash Wednesday, "to hear the reasons of his belief that the earth moves." "To whom the Nolan responded that he could give him no reasons, not being acquainted with his capacity, nor knowing how he might be heard by him, and therefore he feared to be like those who give their reasons to statutes and parley with the dead. But from the desire he had to show the imbecility of such opinions by the self-same principles on

tuato dal conseglo, revelato da Mercurio, recitato da Sophia, Vdito da Saulino, registrato dal Nolano. Diviso in tre dialogi, subdivisi in tre parti. Consecrato al molto illustre et eccellente cavalliero Sig. Philippo Sidneo. Stampato in Parigi, MDLXXXIII.' It contains 261 pages. The epistle dedicatory to Sir Philip Sidney contains 15 leaves, and was not translated by Toland (if he was translator) when he reprinted the English edition in the year 1713. Interlocutori, Sophia, Saulino, Mercurio. This, Mr. Baker says, is that little atheistical book lately sold at Charles Ber-

nard's sale for £28 to Walter Clavel, Esq., and is now in the Bodleian Library, that of James West, Esq., and in my own study. '1585.—Giordano Bruno Nolano, de gli Heroici Furori, al molto illustre et eccellente Caualliero, Signor Phillippo Sidneo. Parigi appresso Antonio Baio, 8vo.'"

It will be seen that this list is by no means complete. Vautrollier's patent was granted 16 of Eliz., 19th June 1574, and the first book printed by him on Ames's register is a New Testament, dated 1574. He could not, therefore, have come to England with Bruno.

which their confirmation is founded, it would afford him no small pleasure to find persons worthy of this teaching, and he would be always ready and willing to respond." A full account of the meeting will be found in the fourth dialogue of the *Supper of Ashes* (W. i. 179-183), and it is easy to imagine how a disputation would end which was undertaken in this stubborn humour.

It was not till 1579, when passing through Milan on his way to Lyons and Paris, that Bruno first heard the name of Sidney (W. i. 145), although the English poet had studied at Padua not three years before Bruno's visit to that city. As a philosophic poet Sidney had much in common with the poetic philosophy of Bruno; and a society in imitation of the Italian Academies, numbering Sidney, Greville, Dyer, Spenser, and Temple among its members, soon received the Nolan into fellowship.

"Philosophical and metaphysical subjects of a nice and delicate nature," we learn from Zonch, the biographer of Sidney, "were there discussed, and the doors of the apartments in which they met were kept shut;" and in the *Supper of Ashes* Bruno says (W. i. 117, 137, 150), "We met in a chamber in the house of Sir Fulk Greville . . . to discuss moral, metaphysical, mathematical, and natural speculations." It was here probably that many of the sonnets in the *Heroic Rapture* were first read; and though few English readers will agree with Dr. Brunnhofer that these verses equal Shakespeare and Petrarch, yet for fire, lyrical tone, and exalted purpose they may compare favourably with the poetry of the age. "There is none more proper," he writes in the argument to the *Heroic Rapture* (W. ii. 311), addressed to Sir Philip Sidney, "to receive the dedication of these discourses than you, excellent sir, lest I should hold a mirror to the blind and a lyre to him who is deaf, as I have done from want of heed, and as others do from habit. To you, therefore, they are presented, that the Italian may reason with him who has understanding;

that verse may be under the countenance and judgment of a poet; that Philosophy may show herself in present nakedness to your fair understanding; that heroic things may be directed to an heroic and generous soul, such as that with which you are endowed; and that homage may be offered to one of such worth as is ever made manifest in you."

The following rough translations will serve to give some idea of Bruno's verse. The opening sonnet in the work upon *Heroic Rapture* runs as follows (W. ii. 312):—

THE DEFENCE OF THE NOLAN.

Inscribed to the most Virtuous and Delightful Ladies.

O ye whose beauty decks the English land !
Not mine the soul your sweet array to scorn ;
And not to write you less be mine the hand,
Save when I write you women ; for the morn,
The twinkling eve, and sable cove of night
Bore never children of the light
Fairer than ye, O stars of happy earth !
Spouses and daughters of angelic birth,
Not Envy's breath, and not her hand austere,
Withhold your praise, and none your beauty mars.
Asps have no sting and venom no endeavour
Where, set on high, fair Dian¹ doth appear
Above you like the sun above the stars ;
And mine the task to do you homage ever.

The first dialogue of *Heroic Rapture* opens with a sonnet, the substance of which, together with certain of Bruno's comments (W. ii. 316), will be found in the following lines :—

¹ Before Elizabeth, the unique Diana of these lines, was born, Erasmus wrote his often-quoted letter in praise of Englishwomen—"those bland and easy nymphs, with more than Muse-like charms. Entering, they salute thee; departing, they embrace thee. O Faustus, didst thou but know the delicacy and sweetness surrounding these divini-

ties, thou wouldst engage to travel, not ten years, but all thy life, and for ever in England." In spite of the roughness of the populace, deplored by him, Bruno records an equally candid tribute to the charms of Englishwomen. The *Supper of Ashes* opens with their praises, and they are twice singled out for approbation in the *Heroic Rapture*.

Come, Muse, O Muse, so often scorned by me,
 The hope of sorrow and the balm of care,
 Give to me speech and song, that I may be
 Unchid by grief ; grant me such graces rare
 As other ministering souls may never see
 Who boast thy laurel, and thy myrtle wear.
 I know no joy wherein thou hast not part,
 My speeding wind, my anchor, and my goal ;
 Come, fair Parnassus, lift thou up my heart ;
 Come, Helicon, renew my thirsty soul ;
 A cypress crown, O Muse, is mine to give,
 And pain eternal ; take this weary frame,
 Touch me with fire, and this my death shall live
 On all men's lips and in undying fame. . . .

A sonnet follows in the mock-heroic vein dear to the
 age (W. ii. 316):—

O Heart, 'tis you my chief Parnassus are,
 Where for my safety I must ever climb.
 My winged thoughts are Muses, who from far
 Bring gifts of beauty to the court of Time ;
 And Helicon, that fair unwasted rill,
 Springs newly in my tears upon the earth,
 And by those streams and nymphs, and by that hill,
 It pleased the gods to give a poet birth.
 No favouring hand that comes of lofty race,
 No priestly unction, nor the grant of kings,
 Can on me lay such lustre and such grace,
 Nor add such heritage ; for one who sings
 Hath a crowned head, and by the sacred bay,
 His heart, his thoughts, his tears, are consecrate alway.

SONNET XII.

The moth beholds not death as forth he flies
 Into the splendour of the living flame ;
 The hart athirst to crystal water hies,
 Nor heeds the shaft, nor fears the hunter's aim ;
 The timid bird, returning from above
 To join his mate, deems not the net is nigh ;
 Unto the light, the fount, and to my love,
 Seeing the flame, the shaft, the chains, I fly ;
 So high a torch, love lighted in the skies,
 Consumes my soul, and with this bow divine

Of piercing sweetness what terrestrial vies ?
This net of dear delight doth prison mine ;
And I to life's last day have this desire—
Be mine thine arrows, Love, and mine thy fire.

—(W. ii. 331.)

SONNET XVI.¹

Winged by desire and thee, O dear delight !
As still the vast and succouring air I tread,
So, mounting still, on swifter pinions sped,
I scorn the world, and Heaven receives my flight.
And if the end of Ikaros be nigh,
I will submit, for I shall know no pain :
And falling dead to earth, shall rise again ;
What lowly life with such high death can vie ?
Then speaks my heart from out the upper air,
" Whither dost lead me ? sorrow and despair
Attend the rash ; " and thus I make reply,
" Fear thou no fall, nor lofty ruin sent ;
Safely divide the clouds, and die content,
When such proud death is dealt thee from on high."

Somewhat later in the book (393) Bruno again alludes to this sonnet. "As happens to one flying in the air, the higher he rises above the earth the more he has of air beneath sustaining him ; and, in consequence, he is the less exposed to the plagues of gravitation : thus he can fly the higher because he cannot return to the under world without painfully dividing the air, although he may consider it were easier to divide the depths of air about our earth than the heights of air about the other stars. Thus with proficiency in this progress comes greater and

¹ This sonnet (No. 16 in the *Heroic Rapture*) is the work of Tansillo, the Neapolitan poet, in whose mouth it is placed by Bruno. It is in part an echo of a sonnet by Petrarch (No. cxxv., Part 1A):—

" *Sento far del mio cor dolce rapina
E sì dentro cangiar pensieri e voglie,
Ch'io dico ; or pian di me l'ultime spoglie
Se il ciel sì onesta morte m'è destina.*"

The sonnets in the *Heroic Rapture* numbered 3, 5, 6, 13, are also written by Tansillo. The third sonnet has

the words *odio me stesso*, which occur in Sonnet cxiv., written by Tansillo. There is a marked resemblance between Bruno's sonnet, No. 33 (which is compared by Brunnhofer to Shakespeare), and the sonnet by Tansillo numbered CL. in Fiorentino's edition. Traces of the influence of Tansillo may be found in Bruno's third sonnet at the beginning of the *Infinity*, in No. 12 of *Heroic Rapture*, and in a Latin sonnet in the fourth book of *De Immenso* (chap. i.)

greater facility in mounting aloft. For every part of bodies and of the said elements, when approaching their natural home, move with the greater impetus and potency; thus whether a man will or no, he must needs arrive there. And as we may divine bodies from parts of bodies, so we may judge of things intellectual by their objects, as their places, countries, and aims."

Some verses on the same page faintly recall the lines, "Doubt that the stars are fire." The "felicitous phrase" of Sir Philip Sidney, "that sweet enemy France," which delighted Charles Lamb, was perhaps borrowed from Bruno. He speaks of "my sweet enemy" in Sonnet 49, and the expression occurs again in Sonnet 52. As the book was dedicated to Sidney, the words may very well have found their way into his sonnets. Bruno uses them when speaking of heroic love, with "its sweet anger, the efficacious assaults of that gracious enemy, too long a stranger and pilgrim." "O worthy love of the beautiful! O desire for the divine!" he cries, "lend me thy wings; bring me to the dayspring, to the clearness of the young morning; and the outrage of the rabble, the storms of Time, the slings and arrows of Fortune, shall fall upon this tender body and shall weld it to steel."

The following lines (W. ii. 392) are inspired by this subject:—

"While that the sun upon his round doth burn,
And to their source the roving planets flee,
Things of the earth do to the earth return,
And parted waters hasten to the sea,
So shall my spirit to the high gods turn,
And heaven-born thought to Heaven shall carry me."

The work continues in the same spirit. Love is the foundation of all spiritual life; without love man cannot live, for, owing to his weakness, he must find strength in union with another. Love, according to its object, is the source of good and evil: the lower love of transient things and the higher love of eternal and divine things correspond

"Whether 'tis nobles
in the mind, No

suffer

The slings & arrows

of outrageous Fortune

Or No Vale arm

against of sea

of troubles - etc -

3

cf. M. Christian

M. S. Quotation from

Chry. of Hippo

with the various degrees of cognition. To know God and not to love him is impossible: the love of the higher good of necessity purifies man of all lower desires; the fine conception of a perfect union with God, by means of which love and the beloved object become one,—these ideas are repeated with the innumerable decorations and enrichments of a luxuriant poetic fancy unchecked by any severe sense of form. *Spinoza*

The following graceful version is from the pen of the late Isa Blagden:¹—

THE SONG OF THE NINE SINGERS.

The first sings and plays the cithern.

O cliffs and rocks ! O thorny woods ! O shore !
O hills and dales ! O valleys, rivers, seas !
How do your new-discovered beauties please ?
O Nymph, 'tis yours the guerdon rare,
If now the open skies shine fair ;
O happy wanderings, well spent and o'er !

The second sings and plays to his mandoline.

O happy wanderings, well spent and o'er !
Say, then, O Circe, these heroic tears,
These griefs, endured through tedious months and years,
Were as a grace divine bestowed
If now our weary travail is no more.

The third sings and plays to his lyre.

If now our weary travail is no more !
If this sweet haven be our destined rest,
Then nought remains but to be blest,
To thank our God for all his gifts,
Who from our eyes the veil uplifts,
Where shines the light upon the heavenly shore.

The fourth sings to the viol.

Where shines the light upon the heavenly shore !
O blindness, dearer far than others' sight !
O sweeter grief than earth's most sweet delight !
For ye have led the erring soul
By gradual steps to this fair goal,
And through the darkness into light we soar.

¹ One of the earliest English this accomplished lady, appeared in articles on Bruno, from the pen of *Fraser's Magazine* for March 1871.

The fifth sings to a Spanish timbrel.

And through the darkness into light we soar !
 To full fruition all high thought is brought,
 With such brave patience that ev'n we
 At least the only path can see,
 And in his noblest work our God adore.

The sixth sings to a lute.

And in his noblest work our God adore !
 God doth not will joy should to joy succeed,
 Nor ill shall be of other ill the seed ;
 But in his hand the wheel of fate
 Turns, now depressed and now elate,
 Evolving day from night for evermore.

The seventh sings to the Irish harp.

Evolving day from night for evermore !
 And as yon robe of glorious nightly fire
 Pales when the morning beams to noon aspire
 Thus he who rules with law eternal,
 Creating order fair diurnal,
 Casts down the proud and doth exalt the poor.

The eighth plays with a viol and bow.

Casts down the proud and doth exalt the poor !
 And with an equal hand maintains
 The boundless worlds which he sustains,
 And scatters all our finite sense
 At thought of his omnipotence,
 Clouded awhile, to be revealed once more.

The ninth plays upon the rebeck.

Clouded awhile, to be revealed once more !
 Thus neither doubt nor fear avails ;
 O'er all the incomparable End prevails,
 O'er fair champaign and mountain,
 O'er river-brink and fountain,
 And o'er the shocks of seas and perils of the shore.

(These verses will recall the well-known lines of Cardinal Newman :

“ So long thy power hath blest me, sure it still will lead me on,
 O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, till the night is gone.”

The original “*stagni, fiumi, mari, rupi, spine*,” is still closer than the translation.)

As soon as these verses have been sung severally by each singer to his own instrument, the nine singers form a moving circle, and sound the praises of the English nymph in sweet consent. In this allegoric poem Jove and Neptune are represented in friendly strife for precedence.

CANTICLE OF THE SHINING ONES.

“Nothing I envy, Jove, from this thy sky,”
 Spake Neptune thus, and raised his lofty crest.
 “God of the waves,” said Jove, “thy pride runs high,
 What more wouldst add to own thy stern behest?”
 “Thou,” spake the god, “dost rule the fiery span,
 The circling spheres, the glittering shafts of day ;
 Greater am I, who in the realm of man
 Rule Thames, with all his Nymphs in fair array.

In this my breast I hold the fruitful land,
 The vasty reaches of the trembling sea,
 And what in night’s bright dome, or day’s, shall stand
 Before these radiant maids who dwell with me ?”

“Not thine,” said Jove, “god of the watery mount,
 To exceed my lot ; but thou my lot shalt share :
 Thy heavenly maids among my stars I’ll count,
 And thou shalt own the stars beyond compare !”

This portentous compliment to English ladies brings the *Heroic Rapture* to an appropriate close.

CHAPTER VI.

And when I leave this rabble rout and defilement of the world, I leave it as an inn, and not as a place of abode. For Nature has given us our bodies as an inn to lodge in, and not to dwell in.”—CARO.

Second Visit to Paris, 1585. The Disputation. Portrait of Bruno. Value of Induction and of the Imagination. Influence of his Philosophy upon his Character. Its Influence on Descartes, Spinoza, and Leibnitz.

THE last three months of 1585 and six months of 1586 were spent by Bruno in Paris. “The ambassador,” he says, “returned to the court of France, and I was in his train; and I remained in Paris another year, keeping company with certain gentlemen of my acquaintance, the greater part of the time at my own expense.” In another place he speaks of his return from London “with him who preserved me from the Oxford pedants and from hunger,” two evils which he seems to have regarded as equal.

It is not clear in what month M. Castelnau de Mauvissière quitted England. His recall was dated July 1585, but “a passport for M. de Malvisier and his wife” was not issued until September. For some months he was in treaty with Elizabeth for the removal of Mary Stuart from Tutbury to Chartley, which was not effected until the 13th of September. And a letter is extant, dated November 17, in which Mary Stuart speaks of the ambassador’s long absence from London, whence it seems fair to conclude that Mauvissière left England with Bruno during the second fortnight of September. “I remained,” Bruno says in the evidence at the trial (Doc. ix.) “two years and a half in England, not going to mass when it was said indoors, nor out of doors, nor to sermons.”

In Paris he lived privately, busied with two dialogues upon the mathematical works of his countryman, Fabricio Mordente, and with a commentary on a book of Aristotle, which were printed in 1586.¹

But these works were not his chief occupation. While in Paris he made efforts to reconcile himself with the Church, through the Pope's Nuncio and through Don Bernardino di Mendoza, who was ambassador of the King of Spain. "But I was told" (Doc. xii.) "that they could not absolve me from my apostasy, and that I could not go to the divine offices; and therefore I remained away from confession and from the mass, with the intention, however, to escape this condemnation, and to live like a Christian, and a religious man." He sought (Doc. xvii.) to avoid returning into the bonds of regular obedience, cherishing the hope that certain works of his might be acceptable in the Pope's eyes, and that thus, though no longer a monk, he might dwell in peace and at liberty. Moreover, he adds, that in the hope of pardon, and that he might be received into the bosom of the Catholic Church without being forced to return to a religious life, he earnestly prayed and besought the Nuncio to address himself to the Pope; "but Sixtus V." (Doc. xvii.) "being then alive, the Nuncio would not write, fearing not to obtain this favour, offering, however, to write and to help me if I would return to the religious life; and he then directed me to a Jesuit father, whose name I remember was Padre Alons, a Spaniard, who, being alive, can confirm it to you, and I spoke with him upon my case, and

¹ Fabricio Mordente of Salerno was a personal friend of Bruno, whose easily aroused enthusiasm regarding this "divine discovery" is recorded in a long preface. Mordente aspired to revive the fallen mechanical arts by means of an "excellent, dignified, and majestic invention;" he is addressed as one of the Mercuries dispatched from on high to minister to our necessities,

and to prove that the descent of the Magi is still unbroken. Mordente travelled much, in order to observe the customs and laws of men, with the precise elevation of the poles of their countries. The "divine discovery" purported to take the exact measure of the earth and to square the circle. Mordente was appointed mathematician to the Emperor Rudolf II.

he persuaded me that it was necessary I should procure absolution from the Pope's censure, and that I could do no less than return to the religious life; and he likewise warned me that, being excommunicated, I could not assist at the divine offices, but that I might hear sermons and say my prayers in church."

This evidence is confirmed by a Dominican friar, Domenico da Nocera (Doc. x.), who in May 1592, when quitting the sacristy of the Church of SS. Giovanni and Paolo, was accosted by a man wearing a secular habit. This was Bruno, who assured the friar that he strongly desired to be reconciled to Rome, and to dwell there in peace, and to follow his literary calling.

Full of the same hope he undertook a parting disputation at Pentecost in Paris, where it seems he was subject either to a trial or to a preliminary examination; for in the eleventh document of the trial at Venice, while asserting that he had taught nothing directly against the Christian and Catholic religion, he adds that "*it was determined in Paris*" that his doctrines were indirectly opposed to the Catholic religion.

The university, which was no doubt closed to him on account of his uncompromising attitude towards the Church, had signified its willingness, through the rector, Jehan Filesac, to hear him in disputation. One hundred and twenty theses against the Peripatetics, with thirty Pythagoric and Platonic theses, were submitted by Bruno to the rector; and on the understanding that the theses were to be regarded in the light of natural philosophy, and not with the eye of faith, permission to hold the disputation was granted. A delicate compliment was offered to the King by appointing the disputation for Pentecost, a season on which he looked with special favour, because it had endowed him in one day with the crowns of Poland and of France.¹

¹ The order of the Holy Ghost was instituted by Henry IV. to commemorate these events.

According to the custom of the universities, Bruno's theses were placed in the mouth of a candidate, Jean Hennequin, "*nobilis Parisiensis*." In his own words, Hennequin espouses the cause of the Nolan because he is "single and alone, an innovator not approved by the many, but rather rejected by them; seeing him supported by the little band of wise and divine men long since forgotten, . . . and desiring to defend him against the solid train of those who, during the long course and lapse of ages, in so many countries and in a great multitude of universities, have brought the Muses into bondage" (Gfr. 11).

According to the custom of these literary tournaments, the president was responsible for the candidate's propositions, objections, citations, and augmentations, and when his stock of logic was exhausted, the president came to his assistance. At times the former scarcely opened his mouth, and the president engrossed the audience. This was probably the method employed by Bruno. For a president the title of Master of Arts was indispensable. It was granted to students in philosophy of three years and a half standing in Paris, although foreigners who held a degree from other universities were so far recognised that two years of foreign study were reckoned as equal to one in Paris.

"I am about to thank you," Bruno wrote to Filesac, "together with the rectors and professors of your university, for many acts of kindness. The most learned of your body have honoured my teaching either with their presence or with their indulgence. Thanks to you, I am not accounted a stranger in this academy, which is the mother of letters. Now that I must wander abroad through other universities, I cannot nor must I depart without greeting you, nor without discussing certain articles¹ with you as a token of gratitude and remembrance. If I were able to persuade myself that you would always receive the Peripatetic doctrines for truth, I should

¹ The word "article" was then synonymous with thesis or proposition.

without any doubt abstain from discussing them, for your university owes less to Aristotle than Aristotle owes to your university. Then my labour would be rash and hostile, and my undertaking, which is prompted by affection and deference, would appear wanting in respect. But I firmly believe that in your prudence and magnanimity you will receive my proffer of service with kindness. Nay, more, I count upon your favour, since philosophers who are led by rational doctrine (even though it be novel) ought to be permitted to reason philosophically, that is, with liberty.

“Moreover, if I reason and do not convince you, I do but confirm you in your principles, and therefore I shall have done nothing unworthy of this high assemblage. While if, as I hope, this outcome of a new philosophy establishes that which posterity can and must sanction, I shall have accomplished a work most worthy of your sovereign university.”

In a spirited address, “Excubitor,” next following, Hennequin, as Bruno’s mouthpiece, beseeches his hearers to bend before the majesty of truth, not heeding “the fire of his speech” so much as the “weight of the reasons” which he is enabled to bring forth; finally entreating them, as lawful and unbiassed judges, to accept the liberation and power of the Copernican doctrine.

The points of difference between Peripateticism and the truth are then advanced.

“The truth,” he says, “is new rather than old. In antiquity there is no belief which was not once new.” Tradition and credulity are to cede to reason; and the inquirer is to enter on the way of truth, cheered by the light of the rising sun of philosophy. In conclusion, Bruno is made by Hennequin to say that he withdraws himself from the company of the Peripatetics and from the vulgar herd of Sophists, and that he will keep a sequestered state, as one desiring the glory of God rather than the kingdom and riches of this world (Gfr. 10). “He believes rashly who believes without the aid of

reason; for God, who bestowed reason upon us, designed us to use it in research."

There is no mention in history of this disputation. Under the title of *Camoeracensis Acrotismus* it was printed the same year in Paris, and two years later it was again printed at Wittenberg, with the one hundred and twenty articles *De Physico Auditu*, which were combated by Bruno's nominee in the hall of the College of Cambrai.

From various sources we may gather the appearance of the Nolan at this period. He is described at his trial by an eye-witness, the librarian, Giambattista Ciotto (Doc. vi. p. 10), as "a small man, thin, with a little black¹ beard, about forty years old;" and in the valedictory oration which he pronounced at Wittenberg he speaks of himself as "the plaything of fortune, small in body and estate, hated and persecuted by the multitude." But although described as a small man, with a small man's weakness, he speaks of himself as "manly, strong-limbed, unchecked in sturdy strength, unconquerable."

With the exception of an oil-painting at Wolfenbüttel, the only portrait of Bruno extant is on the frontispiece. Berti speaks in melting terms of the philosopher's refined and noble face, and of the fire of phantasy burning in his eye, which was "full of melancholy and foreboding." The description has been faithfully repeated, though on what authority it would be hard to say; and the portrait, a wretched performance in point of art, and quite without character, was printed by Wagner (Leipsig, 1830). It first appears in Rixner and Siber's translation of the *Cause* (Sulzbach, 1824), and it was taken by them from a print "in the interesting collection of Herr Kreisregierungs-rath Wirthmann in Munich."

"I am rough-hewn," he says, "by Nature," unlearned in smoothing the hair, colouring the cheek, crowning the head with the fragrant hyacinth, unbending to the dance,

¹ At the same time and place the prisoner is said by another witness to be of middle stature, and his beard is said to be chestnut.

or tuning harsh accents to a ditty. A man, he will not "stoop to play the woman or the boy," words which recall the speech of Gloucester :—

"But I, that am not shaped for sportive tricks,
Nor made to court an amorous looking-glass ;
I that am rudely stamped and lack love's majesty,
To strut before an ambling wanton nymph."¹

With a due sense of artistic keeping, Bruno writes that if his verses have not the sweetness, delicacy, and concord of poesy, if they are harsh and unpolished, they may yet possess a pleasing quality. He is no imitator of Virgil, having no emperor nor Mæcenas ; he has not adopted the tender tones of Ovid, for they are not suited to a bearded satyr, such as he ; and yet he is charmed, and even transported beyond himself, by the sight of beauty, though destitute of it himself. For his manner in working, we learn from his pupil Raphael Eglin² that "he stood on one foot, dictating and thinking as fast as the pen could follow, so swift was his mind and so strong his thought." He appears, moreover, to have prided himself on scientific inaccuracy in dress, for he speaks in the *Supper of Ashes* of his coat with several buttons wanting, and of his fingers undecked with gems, while the Oxford doctors wore "twelve rings on two fingers, and two chains of shining gold."

Such was the outward appearance of the man who appealed to the University of Paris at Pentecost 1586. He was, however, never destined to see his dream accomplished—his cherished hope of reconciling religion with a

¹ When, however, Bruno speaks of being beloved by the nymphs, some of his commentators cry shame on him, while others possess the comfortable assurance that the nymphs are Muses.

² It was at Zurich that Raphael Egli or Eglin first became acquainted with Bruno. A man of learning, though of an unruly disposition, he quitted the Evangelical community in Graubünden, in which he was

trained, and, becoming involved in the Catholic riots, was driven out of Sondrio, and went from Winterthur to Zurich, where he busied himself with alchemy ; and after having consumed a great part of the property of confiding neighbours, and the whole of his own, he fell into debt and was forced to leave the town. We find him in 1607 professor of theology at Marburg.

new and better era in philosophy. The chrism of death, the sacred flame of martyrdom, were to make him the spiritual ancestor of Descartes, Spinoza, and Leibnitz; and his labours, though never destined to be realised during his lifetime, were to bear precious and immortal fruit after his death. He must have quitted Paris immediately after the disputation (May 25, 1586, new style).¹ Civil war was in the air, and France offered no security for a man of learning. Moreover, much in Bruno's nature, much too in his teaching, made his contact with his fellow-men difficult and dangerous. The object of oratory is not so much truth as persuasion; truth is the object of philosophy and history. It is hard to realise that genius is subject to the same laws of supply and demand which regulate the markets, but it is none the less true; and to fail to acknowledge these laws is to fail in the first principles of existence.

A somewhat closer view of Bruno's philosophy will show that it partly failed to convince on account of the obscure medium in which he chose to envelop his thought. But it is also easy at the same time to prove that the effect of his principles upon his own character and upon his successors was such as could only have been produced by true and living springs of thought.

The art of Lully bears a resemblance to those gallipots of apothecaries which Plato is said to have compared to his master Socrates, because "they had on the outside apes and owls and antiques, but contained within sovereign and precious liquors and confections" (*Advancement of Learning*, Book I. iii. 8). "The book of God, which is Nature," says Raimond Sebond, "is often more intelligible than the characters written in Holy

¹ Du Boulay and Crévier, in their several Histories of the Paris University, maintain that Bruno did not fill the office of professor extraordinary. But they allow that at Pentecost 1586 Jean Hennequin held a disputation on theses of Bruno; and,

since the disputation took place in the hall of the College of Cambrai, which was often hired by the public, it is quite possible that Bruno's official connection with the university was then over.

Scriptures ;” and it is not wonderful, therefore, that the clumsy symbols of Lully failed to expound the mysteries of the universe. Bruno looked upon the words representing determinate objects as signs¹ suited to our intelligence, while the objects themselves he considered to be forms,² shadows of the eternal creative ideas, which proceed from God. Thus what to the people was but the play of a strange machine, revealed to the disciple the admirable and symbolic unity of the universe.

Stripped of its outlandish array of signs, seals, and images, of square and three-cornered wheels, keys, pentagons, &c., Bruno’s attempt to describe unity—an attempt in which he has but forestalled many of his great successors—becomes less formidable. He teaches that scientific research has its negative and positive function. The first, by uprooting error, frees the ground on which the new edifice is to arise (*De Min.*, B. i. c. 5); the second preparation consists in an ordered meditation on all subjects of thought (*ib.* c. 5).

The first process is doubt. Let the attention be fixed on reason, on examination, on comparison. Tradition, fame, antiquity, authority, all are to be cast aside, and the philosopher is to be guided by evidence, by the light

¹ “Words are the images of cogitations, and letters are the images of words.”—*Advancement of Learning*, Book ii.

² “Forms are the true object of knowledge” (*Advancement of Learning*, Book II. vii. 5). “Every form of a thing,” says Hegel, “is its inward intellectual principle, its producing cause; but both are not distinct, although the form in itself is the cause, and thus is a final cause” (*Philosophy of History*, 229). “The organic living principle, the principle of which is life, the Former, has within itself its own centre of activity; and within it activity remains and is preserved, . . . while the effect is activity, activity determined within itself” (*ib.*) “The Peripatetic Moor Avicbron,” says Bruno,

“holds a doctrine that matter is a necessary, eternal, and divine principle; for he called matter, God which is in all things; and we shall fall into that error if we look for form to be accidental, and a circumstance of matter, and if we do not see and acknowledge that Form which is necessary, eternal, and first, which is the source of all forms, and which the Pythagoreans call the life or soul of the world” (W. i. 257). “Thus” (W. i. 228) “the whole of the Deity is reduced to one source, as the whole of light to one luminous first principle, and the images which are in diverse and numerous mirrors (as in so many particular subjects), to one formal and ideal principle which is their source.”

of truth and reason, by the strength of the doctrine, by its inner harmony with itself and with the nature of things. When all is duly weighed and comprehended, the philosopher's judgment may be formed. "Evidence, the clear and distinct perception of that which in itself is manifest, reason, and sense," he writes in his letter to the Rector of the Paris University, "these are to determine the mind of the thinker. . . . Let these be our arms against the foolishness of the crowd, who shut their eyes upon the evidence of their senses. Let us begin by doubt. Let us doubt so long as time leaves us a difficulty to solve; let us doubt till we know all; let us doubt that we may be enabled to plead our own cause with freedom and sincerity." "The inward light of knowledge and of the conscience, our own thought, our individual reflection, our human common sense, is not in contradiction with the voice of God. The truth is to be sought out in every aspect and with all solicitude; only a sordid soul follows the crowd because it is great; and it is more noble to obtain glory without empire than empire without glory.

"The sage must not expect to overcome all things at once. He must sow his seed and await the harvest, as in the course of nature and the seasons the grain of this world ripens and the wheat yields its increase. So with history. Aristotle was the forerunner of Plato; and Aristotle himself, if he were present, would counsel us to be followers of Nature. . . . Above all, let us be careful not to think that we know. . . . Time and fortune overcome all things; slaves descend from the kings of antiquity, and kings have counted slaves among their ancestors. So the truth, if it is to endure, must show itself in conformity with the will of a beneficent God and with the laws of Nature."

"Passing," says Berti, "rapidly from the particular to the general, Bruno rose by means of the intricate labyrinths of the art of memory to the shining heights

of metaphysics and astronomy." To "rise by means of an intricate labyrinth" is a proceeding of some difficulty, unless it were by a flying labyrinth or castle in the air. We recall the criticism of Dr. Johnson on Cibber: "Why, sir, in one of his couplets he makes a linnet soar on an eagle's wing."

Bruno looked to the mystical arithmetic of Lully as a means of expounding the secrets of Nature, but not as a means of discovering them. They were attained by that faculty of induction which calls into action the highest qualities of the human soul, and, when rightly used, leads the student, by intuition and by the proper exercise of the imagination, to enter into the profoundest mysteries of Nature. "He seems," says Professor Carriere,¹ "to have reached his conclusions by means of intuition and induction, for his mathematics are insignificant; and when approaching figures and geometric formulæ, he is so little able to bridle his imagination that he continually falls into a mystic symbolism."

The same has been said by Libri (*Histoire des Sciences Mathématiques en Italie*, vol. iv. p. 145, note). "Bruno," says Libri, "seems *a priori* to have embraced the Copernican system by a species of intuition, being no mathematician whatever: his works contain the most singular errors in geometry. Take, for example, what he says in the *Cena delle Ceneri* on the manner in which a luminous body gives light to other bodies." But by imagination, that golden quality which realises conceptions beyond the scope of the senses, Bruno attained many valuable conclusions. "Coleridge," says Lewes, "used to say that imagination was the greatest faculty of the philosopher;" and the German critic Hillebrand was told by Leibnitz himself "that all his discoveries had been the result of lightning-like intuition and divination,² ascertained after-

¹ *Die Philosophische Weltanschauung der Reformationszeit in ihren Beziehungen zur Gegenwart.* Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1847. Art. "Bruno," p. 381.

² "It is," says Fuller, speaking

wards by observation and experiment." Again, "Physical investigation, more than anything besides," says Sir Benjamin Brodie, in his address to the Royal Society (Nov. 30, 1859), "helps to teach us the actual value and right of the imagination—of that wondrous faculty which, left to ramble uncontrolled, leads us astray into a wilderness of perplexities and errors, a land of mists and shadows, but which, properly controlled by experience and reflection, becomes the noblest attribute of man, the source of poetic genius, the instrument of discovery in science, without the aid of which Newton would never have invented fluxions nor Davy have composed the earths and alkalies, nor would Columbus have found another continent."

With the instruments at his command, the results attained by Bruno were marvellous. In his system of induction he forestalled Bacon, who said (*Nov. Or.* 117), "Our course and method is, . . . in our capacity of legitimate interpreters of Nature, to deduce causes and axioms from effects and experiments, and new effects and experiments from those causes and axioms." By what he called "industry of experiment," Bacon sought in the means closest to his hand for truth profitable to man. Application, not speculation, was his aim in life. His philosophy was but a machine to aid the mind in accomplishing what had hitherto overtasked its power; and if he desired to discover the springs of action and the hidden forces of Nature, it was that he might extend the usefulness of man rather than his knowledge. "Philosophy," says Bruno (*W.* ii. 339), in a less utilitarian

of the fancy in a more poetic vein, "the most boundless and restless faculty of the soul; for while the understanding and will are kept, as it were, *in libera custodia*, to their objects of *verum et bonum*, the fancy is free from all engagements; it digs without spade, sails without ships, flies without wings, builds without

charges, fights without bloodshed; in a moment striding from the centre to the circumference of the world; by a kind of omnipotency creating and annihilating things in an instant; and things divorced in Nature are married in fancy as in a lawless place."

spirit, "rises on the wing of the intellect towards the Divinity." "We must not add wings," says Lord Bacon (*Nov. Or.* 104), "but rather lead and ballast to the understanding, to prevent its jumping or flying;" although he grants that "many great discoveries are made not by reason, but by chance and opportunity." Much, however, that the great Verulam accepted without a question, or did not care to consider, was upheld by Bruno at the cost of his life. Bacon was content to make over to those "few astronomers, carmen who drive the earth about" (*In Praise of Knowledge*), the task of accommodating the peculiarity of the heavens;¹ while with Bruno, to seek out the truth in all things was a matter of life and death. He enlarged the boundaries of the visible universe beyond Aristotle, beyond Copernicus; not by such calculations as were open to the astronomers of that day, but by means of intuition and induction, and by advocating the true interrogation of Nature, which is observation and experiment.

"The speculation of scholars," he says (*Shadows of Ideas*, Intentio xviii.), "proceed correctly if they advance from the physical shadow to the ideal shadow corresponding with it." "By induction we are made rich in spirit" (Gfr. 737). "If the road of investigation is open, in order to attain the truth it is only necessary to hold fast by Nature" (*De Immenso*, Book ii. chap. x. p. 605). "He who impedes Nature in her course is impious and insane"² (*ib.* Book i. chap. ix. p. 26-28). We are to comprehend inner things by what is outward, and high things by means of the lower creation. "For all things are so created that they correspond the one with the other. For since all things were ordained not by chance, but by a determining spirit, it follows that a

¹ "The same phenomena in astronomy are satisfied by the received astronomy, . . . and by the theory of Copernicus . . . the calculations are indifferently agreeable to both" (*Ad-*

vancement of Learning, Book ii. viii. 5).

² "Nature," says Lord Bacon (*Nov. Or.* 115), "is only to be commanded by obeying her."

soul filled with contemplation and speculation can, by means of that which is in the outward appearance, divine inner things" (Gfr. 304). He repeats constantly that Nature and the sense within us will lead us to the truth. "The truth, like the kingdom of God, is within us" (W. ii. 12), "It is in the object of the senses as in a mirror; in the reason, by the means of argument and discourse; in the intellect, by the means of principle and conclusion; but in the mind there is the essential and living form of truth" (W. ii. 18). "The senses themselves are useful to excite the reason, to indicate, to testify; in part, but not altogether" (*ib.* 18). "When I was a boy," he writes (*De Immenso*, Book. ii. chap. viii. p. 232), "I believed that beyond Vesuvius there was nothing, and at that time I understood nothing except through my senses." "The senses do not deceive us," he says again; "they do not tell us what is not true, but they do not tell us the whole truth. We do not see the effects and true species of things, or the substance of ideas, but their shadows, traces, and similitude" (W. ii. 426).

"In the things of Nature, Cause and Principle are divided; but in God, Cause and Principle are one. Thus the reason rises to God by means of Nature" (W. i. 234-239). "There is nothing in Nature without Providence and without a final Cause" (W. i. 190).

Such was the labour of the great Italian. Passing by the ways of Induction and Imagination, he came to Immanence, and to that reconciliation of Immanence and Transcendence which is his most signal service to philosophy. "For though," Enfield writes in his *History of Philosophy*, "he acknowledges only one substance in Nature, yet it appears from many passages in his writings to have been his opinion that all things have from eternity flowed from one immense and infinite fountain, an emanative principle essential to the Divine nature. From this source he derives his minima, or atoms, of which the visible world is formed. To these

he ascribes perception, life, and motion. Besides these, he supposes a distinct principle of combination and union, or a soul of the world, derived from the same fountain, by which the forms of Nature are produced and preserved. This intermediate agent, which connects all the other emanations from the eternal fountain, is, in the system of Bruno, Nature, by means of which, out of infinite emanations from the eternal fountain, infinite and eternal worlds are produced; whilst in truth only one being exists which is infinite, immutable, indivisible, good—the uncreated light which pervades all space, and which has within itself one substantial form of all things.”

Again, writing of the “sparks of truth” shining in Bruno’s pages, he adds, “Some of his original conceptions are . . . luminous and satisfactory, and nearly coincide with the principles of philosophy of Descartes, Leibnitz, and others.”

Scarcely heeding that bracing of the will to repeated undeviating action, which, though it may not be genius, is capable of producing a masterpiece, the Nolan aspired to be a “philosopher, which is the most honourable title a man can possess” (W. ii. 233), and to assail “the impregnable walls of true philosophy” (*ib.* 241). “Philosophy,” says Lord Bacon (*Nov. Or.* 57), “is the great mother of the sciences;”¹ and the result of Bruno’s application, or more properly of his insight, led him to foreshadow many modern discoveries. “Every part of creation has its share in being and in cognition” (*Summa Ter.* 508). This is a direct consequence of the immanence² of God. “Intellect and the powers of

¹ Hazlitt, when he says “How little has the human understanding been directed to find out the true and useful! how much ingenuity has been thrown away in the defence of creeds and systems,” repeats Bacon’s magnificent opening of the *Novum Organum*.

² “Thinking is not to be severed from what is thought, nor will from movement” (Plato); “for mind is nothing else but Nature come to the consciousness of itself: its essence being the essence of Nature, its contents the contents of Nature” (Karl Hillebrand).

thought are not in place, but as the form is in the subject. The intellect, which is the universal substance and the cause of all knowledge in all things and in each thing, is the one substance or essence of the whole, as the soul is in the body" (*Summa Ter.* 513). "There is a difference, not in quality but in quantity, between the soul of man, the animal, and the plant" (W. ii. 277).

"Among horses, elephants, and dogs there are single individuals which appear to have almost the understanding of men" (*De Immenso*, Book iv. chap. ii. p. 404).

"With what understanding the ant gnaws her grain of wheat, lest it should sprout in her underground habitations! The fool says this is instinct, but we say it is a species of understanding" (*Summa Ter.* 509). And when stones display their marvellous properties, contracting, expanding, attracting, the crowd of ignorant Sophists declare this is instinct."

The transition from this point to the Darwinian theory of development is not difficult. "No body is to-day the same as yesterday" (*De Trip. Min.*) "All things, even the smallest, have their share in the universal intelligence. We do not doubt that there is a soul within all things, and with the soul the intelligence or universal thinking power" (*Summa Ter.* 499).

"For without a certain degree of sense or cognition the drop of water could not assume the spherical shape which is essential to the preservation of its forces. All things participate in the universal intelligence, and hence come attraction and repulsion, love and hate" (*ib.* 496). "Nature shows forth each species before they enter into life. Thus each species is the starting-point for the next" (Gfr. 309).

After this rapid glance at the peculiar means employed by Bruno, together with the results obtained by him, it may not be amiss to consider next the effects of his

¹ This subject is amplified in the *Cabal of the Horse Pegasus*.

philosophy on his mind. It may be gathered from the following extracts :—

“From my youth up I was exposed to the slights of fortune, but notwithstanding, I am firm and constant in my course, and to this God is my witness. And I am either not so unfortunate as I think, or in submitting to my misfortunes I despise them ; for death itself does not terrify me, and the greatness of my soul is such that all things mortal are in subjection to it”¹ (*De Immenso*, Book i. ch. i. p. 3).

“For those men most fear death and most desire to live who have not the light of true philosophy, who consider no other than their present being, and who think that nothing can happen but to them, because they have not attained the knowledge that the principle of life is not in the properties which result from the composition, but in individual and indissoluble substance” (W. ii. 76).

“The body is a composition and congregation of innumerable properties and individuals” (W. ii. 208).²

“Being present with the body” (*Wagner*, ii. 387), “he (the sage) is yet, as by an indissoluble oath, bound and united to divine things, so that he is not sensible either of love or hatred for mortal things, knowing he is greater than these, and that he must not be the servant and slave of his body, which is to be regarded as no other than the prison of his liberty, a snare for his wings, a chain upon his limbs, and a veil impeding his sight. Let him not, therefore, be a slave, nor evil, nor in chains, nor idle, nor blind, nor imprisoned. For the body has no power over him ; it waits on his consent, seeing that

¹ In another place—

“*Persentire datur paucis quam vivere nostrum hoc
Sit periisse, mori hoc sit veræ adsurgere
vitæ.*”

Life is but a manner of death, death a true birth, an awakening to true life.

² “Among those elements out of which living bodies are built, there

is an unusual tendency to unite in multiples.”—*II. Spencer, Principles of Biology*, vol. i. 23. Cicero, in his *Vision of Scipio*, writes as follows :—“They are alive who have escaped from the fetters of the body as from a prison ; that which is called your life is really death.”

the spirit is above the body in such proportion as the corporeal and material world is subject to the Divinity and to Nature. Thus he will be strong against fortune, magnanimous in injury, undaunted in poverty, sickness, and persecution."

Even more in his life than in his works Bruno showed that it behoves a philosopher not to attach himself to earth. He desires "that he may not shrink when confronted by death" (W. ii. 238), and "that he may be strengthened against the onslaughts of fortune." The hare is called by him "the type of fear, by the contemplation of death;" and he prays to be delivered from "the blind tremors of death" (*ib.* 241). "Death," he writes, in emulation of the Latin poet, "is less horrible than the fear of death" (W. i. 401).¹ Again, in the *Heroic Rapture* (W. i. 313) he pours out his soul in the entreaty that his death may be changed to life, the cypress into laurel, hell to heaven, and his mortality to immortality.

A striking presentiment, which did not fall short of prophecy,² underlies his writings. "If it should come to pass," he wrote (W. i. 199), "that the Nolan is carried to his grave in a Catholic country, even if it be broad day, he will be accompanied by fifty, nay, by a hundred torches." ("The spirit of man," says the Preacher, "is the candle of the Lord.") Again, in a sonnet addressed to his own soul, he writes, "Touch me, O God, and I shall be as it were a flame of fire,"—words repeated and perfected by Shakespeare:

"Heaven doth with us as we with torches do,
Not light them for ourselves."

When, too, towards the spring of 1591, Bruno set off for his native land, driven by some unaccountable impulse to meet the death which, in his own words, should

¹ "Fear is more pain than is the pain it fears."—*Sonnets, Sir Philip Sidney*. *Melancholy* foretold the day and hour of his death, and was said to have taken pains to fulfil the prediction.

² The author of the *Anatomy of*

make him live for all time (W. ii. 316), these words occur, among the last lines written by him in Germany: "The wise man fears not death; yea, there may be times when he seeks death, or at least goes peacefully forth to meet his end."

"To talk of Nature and a man's soul," says Goethe, "is not for Christians; therefore men burn atheists, such discourses being highly dangerous." Persecution, "that rarest argument of wonder," embittered the life of Bruno, but the succession of time will reinstate his memory.

"It is a plain proceeding," says Edgar Quinet, "to calculate problems and to solve equations, but to apply them justly, and to understand their due relations to each other and to the world, demands intuition and inspiration. The pure and incorruptible formulæ which were before the world was, which are above time and space, and which are, as it were, an integral part¹ of God, those sacred formulæ which will survive the ruin of the universe, place the true mathematician in communion with the very spirit of God. Science is Christian when it discovers in the infinitely little as much power and mystery as in the infinitely great. Science is pious when it recognises miracles in all things, for it then beholds itself enveloped by revelation. It is universal when it subjects every world and every truth to one law and to one unity. It is Catholic when it conforms to that living and immutable orthodoxy proclaimed in the great council of creation, in the church of the worlds, that sacred geometry and sublime mathematics which are unswerving in their course, for they are written in the very thought of the Creator."

Such was the piety of Bruno; and it was to that "living and immutable orthodoxy," and to the laws written in the hand of the Creator on the face of the universe, that

¹ A parallel passage occurs in *ginnings of things co-eternal, God Kepler's Harmonices Mundi* (bk. iv. *Himself*," p. 119): "Geometry, before the be-

he proclaimed his submission. It is interesting to note that the same feeling has actuated many men of science.

"The work of the intellect," says Humboldt, "shows itself in its most exalted grandeur where, instead of requiring the aid of outward material means, it receives its light exclusively from the pure abstraction of the mathematical development of thought. There dwells a powerful virtue, deeply felt and acknowledged in all antiquity, in the contemplation of mathematical truths; in the eternal relations of time and space as they disclose themselves in harmonics, number, and lines."

The remarkable manner in which Linnæus,—he is called by Edgar Quinet "the smallest of the great discoverers,"—speaks of his vision of God was probably suggested by the history of Moses on the Mount. The Patriarch, it will be remembered, was covered by the hand of God in a cleft of the rock, and he saw "the back parts of God." Linnæus writes the following: "I have seen pass before me the back parts of the almighty, all-knowing, and ever-living God, and I stood in awe of him." The words of Kant, "Two things fill me with wonder—the starry heavens and the sense of moral responsibility in man," are thus noted by Professor Tyndall: "And in his hours of health and strength and sanity, when the stroke of action has ceased and the pause of reflection has set in, the scientific investigator finds himself overshadowed by the same awe. Breaking contact with the hampering details of earth, it associates him with a power which gives fulness and love to his existence, but which he can neither analyse nor comprehend" (Tyndall, *Fragments of Science*, 335).

But it is, perhaps, in considering the influence of Bruno's philosophy on others that its value becomes most apparent.¹

¹ The relation of Bruno's philosophy to Descartes, Leibnitz, Kant, and Hegel has been exhaustively treated by M. Carriere. Bruno's services to Descartes and Leibnitz have also been carefully pointed out

Evidence as the criterium of truth, doubt as the initiation of the truth—these were his legacy to Descartes. He bequeathed to Spinoza the idea of an immanent God and the distinction between active and passive Nature. To Leibnitz he gave the germ of the theory of monads and the theory of optimism. Moreover, with regard to the mathematical and physical sciences, the theories of the centre of gravity of the planets, the orbits of the comets, the imperfect sphericity of the earth, and the first idea of the vortex are due to him; and the boldest thinkers of our time owe to him the principle of the absolute identity of the subjective and the objective, the ideal and the real, the thought and the thing.

Many writers claim¹ for Bruno the high distinction of having modified all the modern sources of philosophic thought. Even Tiraboschi, who professes himself unable to comprehend Bruno's philosophy, is willing to grant the extent of his influence on later thinkers. "If," says this writer (vol. vii. p. 472), "Bruno had taken the pains to regulate his fancy and his foolish ambition, which taught him to oppose every idea that was not his own, he might have ranked among the most illustrious philosophers. Any one with patience to examine his work may discover he has the germs of opinions which, when adopted by Cartesius, Leibnitz, and other modern thinkers, were received with applause, and were at least for some time followed by many. Brucker, citing authors who have reasoned on such points at length, demonstrates that the vortices of Cartesius, and the system of globes revolving on their own axis, together with the principle of universal doubt, are to be found in the works of

by Bartholmæss. The indebtedness of Spinoza is described with great minuteness in a small treatise by Professor Sigwart :—*Spinoza's Neu-entdeckter Traetat von Gott, dem*

Menschen und dessen Glückseligkeit. Gotha, 1866.

¹ See Lasson. Steffens, *Ueber das Leben des Jordanus Brunus*. Berlin, 1846, pp. 43, 75. *Revue de Bruxelles*, Altmeyer, January, March 1840.

Bruno, which contain, moreover, the atoms of Gassendi and the optimism of Leibnitz. . . . But I challenge," Tiraboschi continues, with some temper, "the most acute intelligence to comprehend his system, or the most patient of men to tolerate his books."

Unlike the philosophy of Condillac, which is happily said by Victor Cousin "to mutilate the human mind in order to explain it more easily," Descartes taught that "to know is to be," and held with Bruno the effective action of our doubt and ignorance.¹ Doubt in thought is an act of thought; and the achievement of Bruno in thus defining the use in philosophy of doubt and ignorance was, says Professor Carriere, "a declaration in philosophic consciousness such as that of Luther in religion: 'God is almighty; but he who has faith is a god.'"

From the dualism into which Descartes soon fell Bruno was preserved by the poetic spirit with which he was inspired; but the dry precision of the art of Lully possessed no charms for the philosopher of method. "I had laboured somewhat," Descartes writes, "upon the other branches of philosophy, such as the art of Lully, which is compounded from syllogisms more proper to encourage idle talk upon things which we ignore than to aid learning."²

¹ "The wisest among you," says Plato in his *Apology*, "is he who recognises, with Socrates, that his wisdom is nothing." And what is this but the becoming a little child in order to enter into the kingdom of heaven? "Before all things," says Bruno, "keep us from ignoring our own ignorance." True ignorance is said by Bruno to be, as it were, a gate (W. ii. 271) to the apprehension of truth; "since wisdom without ignorance cannot apprehend the truth, . . . and thus wisdom discovers the truth by the road, the gate-keeper, and the gate of ignorance." This is one of the contradictions in which Bruno delighted. Negative ignorance in a mind reflecting upon itself is, however, not to be confounded with the positive

ignorance of blindness. "Ignorance and arrogance," Bruno writes (W. i. 175), "are twin sisters;" and, again (W. i. 131), he writes of "rash and foolish ignorance, with presumption and discourtesy, which are her faithful companions." This was the ignorance which Montaigne desired to quell when he wrote, "All wisdom is folly that does not accommodate itself to the common ignorance."

² Although Descartes describes his *Meditations* as a book containing "demonstrations of the existence of God and the distinction of the soul from the body," he treats a number of other subjects, such as the circulation of the blood, the theory of animals, instinct, &c. With a certain sense of humour he

In his theory of instinct, moreover, as inherited habit, Bruno shows himself to be far in advance of the automatic theory of Descartes. "Because a clock marks time and a bee makes honey," says Descartes, "we are to consider the clock and the bee to be machines. Because they do one thing better than man, and no other thing so well as man, we are to conclude that they have no mind, but that Nature acts within them, holding their organs at her disposal." "Nor are we to think, as the ancients do, that animals speak, though we do not know their language" (*Discours sur la Méthode*, sect. v.); "for, if that were so, they, having several organs related to ours, might as easily communicate with us as with each other." How would the reverse of this axiom read from the point of view of the animals? "We must not think that men speak, though we do not know their language. For if this were so, since they have several organs related to ours, they might as easily communicate with us as with each other."

It remains to indicate in a few words the influence of Bruno on Spinoza, "the Cartesian of the Kabbalah," as he was called by Kant in a letter to Moses Mendelssohn. While Leibnitz resolves the material world into unextended monads, Spinoza, truer to his great forerunner, unfolds the divine system in a geometric procession, and, though he does not own how far he is beholden to Bruno, a close connection in the system of the two philosophers has been pointed out by Professor Sigwart of Tübingen.

The most important of Bruno's writings, and those nearest allied to the philosophy of Spinoza, are the dialogues of the *Cause*, of *Infinity*, and of *Heroic Rapture*. Spinoza was known by his biographer Boulainvilliers to be well versed in Italian. The works of Bruno were read

begins the sixth part of his discourse upon Method by announcing that he had found it advisable to abstain from publishing a certain treatise from fear of the Jesuits, and yet he

published it notwithstanding, for he remarks that it will be found in substance in the pages he has just completed.

in Paris at that time, among others, by Père Mersenne and by Huet, the opponent of Descartes; and they must have passed into Holland, for England was closely connected with that country. The *Heroic Rapture*, as we have seen, was dedicated to Philip Sidney, who fell at the head of the English auxiliaries in defending the independence of the Netherlands.

Spinoza, in common with Bacon, Leibnitz, and many other writers, was not accustomed to name the philosophers from whom he derived assistance. His political treatise on the Existence and Cause of the State, an essay closely following the theory of Hobbes, does not by so much as a single syllable allude to the English writer. Much of the work on Method is derived from the *Novum Organum*, but there is not a line in the book alluding by name to Bacon. The treatise on God, Mankind, and Happiness owes much to Descartes, who is only once named, and then not as the master whose teaching the treatise is repeating, but on the occasion of an objection for the refutation of which Descartes is referred to. Spinoza may have shrunk from naming Bruno, the uncompromising enemy of all Aristotelians, by whom he had been hunted from town to town, everywhere roving and rejected, the author of the *Expulsion*, which was reputed to have denied God, and accused, moreover, of having written *De Tribus Impostoribus*. But it is also probable that the manner of life of the Dutch philosopher had its share in his apparently ungrateful silence. Despising the world, he knew neither pleasure, action, nor glory; and as he was completely indifferent to his own fame, he desired his name should be concealed after his death. Effaced in his work, which was his only life and his true glory, he had almost earned the right to appropriate the thoughts of others, which he looked upon as due contributions to the joint-stock of learning. When he was young he desired love; but he did not find it, for he did not inspire it: poor and

suffering, his life was spent in the hope and meditation of death;¹ and in the outskirts of Amsterdam or in an obscure corner of the Hague he earned the scanty share of bread and of milk necessary to his sustenance by polishing glasses. He was repudiated by the men of his own communion, and suspected by every other sect: all the clergy in Europe detested him because he taught the subjection of the Church to the State; and it was only by living in hiding that he escaped persecution and outrage. His humbleness and silence, his gentleness and his patience, formed a character little fitted for dwelling in the world, where, indeed, he did not desire to remain; he was not anxious to be remarkable while he lived, nor to be remembered when he died.

However, some acknowledgment is to be expected from a writer under many obligations, and accordingly we find in the preface to the third part of his *Ethics*, Spinoza speaks of writers, whom he does not name, but to whom he owes thanks for having written "much that is most excellent on the right conduct of life." It is probable that Bruno is counted among these, and distinct traces of relationship to him appear in the writings of Spinoza. The unity of being, the infinity of its attributes, the immanence of the Godhead in the universe, the comprehension of evil as deficiency—these are principles alike in both philosophies; all teaching of God as one being, who is all, without whom nothing is, nor can be thought; whose being is also the being of individual things: every allusion to God as the highest good, all teaching that the Divine Mind is the source of all minds, of all direct knowledge, which is reached not by inference, but by direct contemplation of the highest Being as he stands revealed in his handiwork; of love as the perfect union of the soul with God, which, by freeing man from the love of earthly things, causes him to attain the highest happiness

¹ "Vita est meditatio mortis."—*Spinoza*.

—this Neo-Platonic teaching of Bruno is to be found in the *Ethics* of Spinoza.

Spinoza, however, fell too soon under subjection to a law of mechanical necessity, resulting in what has been called "Spinozism" or atheism, which, says Kuno Fischer, "is a philosophy presented by Spinoza in the form of the Gorgon's head." God, in the language of Spinoza, loves no one (*Ethics*, v. 17 coroll.); he is the possessor of perfection in perfect and eternal rest. Busied and absorbed in his conception of God, he lost sight of a just conception of man. The God of his creation was a natural outcome of the terrible God of Judah, the fighting Lord of Hosts, the jealous God: his God is the infinite, which manifests itself in blind destruction of the finite. But in comparing the teaching of Spinoza and Bruno, there is a marked distinction in favour of the Italian philosopher. His exalted view of Nature as a living mirror in which we behold the "pictures of natural things and the shadow of the Divinity," is far removed from the realism of Spinoza; and in the crucial test of philosophy a great and striking divergence arises. With Spinoza the ideal and the real are one; with Bruno nothing is real but the ideal. Form or the idea is the source of all things. Thought precedes Nature (*ante naturalia*); Nature is the shadow of ideas (*forma sine vestigium idearum*). When thought follows Nature (*post naturalia*) it is called understanding; and in the same proportion as the things of Nature are more perfect than the shadows of ideas, the original idea is more perfect than Nature.

According to Bruno, it is the soul which gives shape to the forms of the world; all movement being the expression of an inner life, a seeking for and fleeing from of kindred souls and souls opposed. But the poetic aspect bestowed by him on the universe was completely removed from the theory of Descartes, which, in its separation of soul from matter, sets up the dualism against which Bruno strove. All motion, even that of organic beings,

was attributed to atomic attraction, and the spiritual world was regarded as a world in itself, opposed to the world of mechanism. While adopting this system of mechanical physics, Spinoza sundered himself from Bruno's soul of the Universe. Of that wealth of conditions and images out of which Bruno fashioned his principle of Unity, nothing remains to Spinoza but the abstract conception of substance and causality. In his *Ethics* he identifies God with Nature; but it is not the living Nature of Bruno, that mother of all things, who, herself unchanging, brings forth all things and supports all things. Spinoza teaches the unity of things emanating from their cause by a law of mechanical necessity. The spiritual world was to him independent of the world of matter; that unity escaped him, the seal of which every man carries within him in the close union of soul and body; and although, with Bruno, Spinoza believed in an immortal union of our love with the love of God (*Treatise on God, Mankind, and his Happiness*, 154, p. 206), yet his view of the Supreme Deity is that of a dumb bearer of the predicates, mere trappings and insignia of office, from which in an uncontrolled manner virtue goes out, as from the garment of Christ.

CHAPTER VII.

“The past and the present are two relations in eternity, which is a continual present.”—VICTOR COUSIN.

Paris, 1st June. Mayence, June 1586. Marburg, July 1586. Matriculated at Wittenberg, August 20, 1586. Quits Wittenberg, March 1588. The Farewell Oration at Wittenberg.

ON delivering his theses to the rector of the university, Bruno announced his intention to quit Paris, and he presented the disputation as his formal leave-taking of the town. It has been suggested that his departure was a direct result of the disputation. But this is not so, since he took that opportunity not only to bid farewell to Paris, but to declare his intention of visiting other universities.

On account of the civil wars, Paris itself appears to have been an unprofitable abode for a man of learning. “There was a time,” says the Leaguer of the *Satire Menippée*, “when we longed to know the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues, but we now rather desire a good salt ox-tongue for an excellent commentary on hay-bread;” the latter being only a degree better than the bread called after Madame de Montpensier, which was made of bones.

“I left Paris,” the Documents resume, “on account of the tumults;” and in the oration which he pronounced at Wittenberg in 1588, Bruno was at the pains to congratulate himself (Gfr. 634) on having escaped the “disasters of Paris.” It was about the 1st of June 1586

when he set off to seek more peaceful employment in Germany. He went first to Mayence (*Mez* in the documents of the trial; in the Rhenish dialect the *n* is suppressed), where he remained about twelve days; and not finding suitable entertainment either there or at *Vispure*,¹ “a place not far off” (Doc. ix.), he went to Marburg, thinking to resume his work of teaching. This attempt, however, was checked by the unruly spirit which had shown itself earlier in Geneva, and which was inseparable from his conduct and character.

Mount Sinai, we are told by Heine, was but a little pedestal for the feet of Moses, whose head was raised to the skies, and whose speech was with God. The whole earth was to Bruno what Mount Sinai was to Moses, though with this difference, that an essential condition for peaceful communion with the skies, which is indifference to troubles on earth, was absent from his composition.

Every pin-prick angered him. Indications of his character abound in his works. He speaks (W. ii. 221) of “heroic generosity, which can pardon those beneath it, compassionate the weak and infirm, subdue insolence, trample upon temerity, rebuke presumption, and vanquish pride.” A true Neapolitan, he practised no reserve except in silence and other negative qualities. He scouted compromise, allotting a place in the skies to Anger, which he regarded as “a most necessary virtue” (W. ii. 219); “for it favours law, strengthens truth and judgment, and sharpens the wit, opening the road to

¹ It has been suggested that this place is Würzburg. At its newly founded university Bruno might have sought employment, and soon finding there was no opening for him, he might have quitted the town without inscribing his name on the register of the university. Weissenburg, in Alsace, which has been suggested by one of his biographers, is

too far. The Rhenish pronunciation, joined to the spelling of the Italian copyist, accounts for the uncouth exchange of Würzburg into Vispure. Professor Carrière is of opinion that Wiesbaden is the town designated. It is pronounced Wisbare by the peasants, and it is not too far removed either from Mayence or from Marburg.

many notable virtues of which peaceable minds know nothing." In another work he says (W. ii. 424), "No man truly loves goodness and truth who is not incensed with the multitude, as, in what is commonly called love, he would be jealous and fearful for the thing beloved." It was his prayer to be all arms and all eyes, a new Briareus and a new Argus, that he might penetrate and embrace the whole of the infinite universe together with "the matter of Nature," which, "being always the same under all forms of Nature, is not to be seen by the eye, but with the reason alone, with the intellect." He calls upon "heroic Fear" to make him as much afraid of perishing from among the illustrious as from among the living. "O memory of a well-spent life!" he cries, "make old age and death carry me away before my mind comes to be disordered. And thou, Fear of losing the glory acquired in life, make old age and death not bitter, but desirable and dear" (W. ii. 96). In the same work (W. ii. 186) he writes: "Fortitude is ordered to mark those things which the strong ought not to fear—hunger, nakedness, thirst, pain, poverty, solitude, persecution, death; but from those other things which ought to be dreaded, because they injure, men must flee with all diligence. These are ignorance, injustice, unfaithfulness, falsehood, avarice, and the like." Again, he asks of the gods to make him "unmoved and intrepid when honour and the common welfare are at stake."

The records of Marburg remain to show in what an uncompromising spirit this petition was fulfilled. On the 25th of July 1586, Bruno applied to the then rector of the university, Nigidius, professor of moral philosophy, and matriculated as doctor of Roman theology. "But," says the rector of the university, "permission to hold public disputations on philosophy for weighty reasons having been denied to him by me, with the consent of the whole Philosophic Faculty, he fell into a passion of anger,

and he insulted me in my house, as though I had acted in this matter against the rights of man and the usages of all the German universities, and against all zeal in learning; and, therefore, he desired not to continue a member of the academy, to which desire we agreed gladly, and his name was cancelled by me on the rolls of the university." In a later hand Bruno's name is restored in the records of Marburg, and the words "with the consent of the whole Philosophic Faculty" are struck out. The records lately discovered at Geneva offer a clue to those "weighty reasons" which hindered Nigidius from accepting Bruno as a lecturer in the university.

It was strange that the opposition of the Catholic Church to freedom should be signalised by one remarkable exception. This was the reform of the calendar, which was as heartily opposed by the innovators as if to bring the equinox under control meant to assail the life and liberty of all true Protestants, who pinned their faith to the old Calendar. Pope Gregory, the patron of the reform, gave such tokens of his satisfaction at the massacre of St. Bartholmew in the shape of pictures, processions, medals, and indulgences that the Protestants sickened at his name. His effort to pass over the eleven days from the 4th to the 15th of October 1582 was received with an outburst of indignation. People followed the carriages of ministers of state crying "Give us back our eleven days." The Diet of Augsburg roundly declined to consider the matter at all, and the quarrel ran so high that respectable German burgomasters resigned their robes and chains of office and left their country rather than submit to a change suspected of concealing ultramontane designs. The Gregorian calendar was accepted for its catholicity, like the mass and the sign of the cross. Kepler did not escape the suspicion of his fellow-Lutherans when he announced his adherence to the new scheme; and it was a curious contradiction to see the new Christians cling to the old style, while the

Christians of the ancient faith did their utmost to establish the novelty.

It may be imagined that Bruno, who conformed to the new calendar, was rejoiced to show his obedience to the Church, when for once she did not run counter to science. But Marburg was radically opposed to the reform of the calendar, which being called after a Pope, was naturally regarded by all good Protestants with suspicion. The Copernican theory was looked upon with equal distrust, and Bruno, a warm advocate of both innovations, was not likely to receive quarter from the professors of the Reformed religion. He matriculated at Marburg on the 25th July, and finding it impossible to bridle the malevolence of the rector, he thought it prudent to leave the town almost immediately.

Supposing that Bruno begged his way, he would have done only what was common among English university students three hundred years ago, or among German students even thirty years ago, although begging was, personally, extremely distasteful to him, for he spoke contemptuously of the monks who hold their breviaries in one hand and extend the other for alms (Doc. xii.) He was in poor circumstances, encumbered with but little luggage, though no doubt he carried some of his pamphlets on the art of Lully with him,—we could not otherwise account for their appearance in so many of the cities through which he passed. Nor was he exposed to what Macaulay calls “the disease of admiration;” for, quoting Tasso, the Nolan speaks of “that idol of error and deceit which is called honour by the vulgar” (W. ii. 201), and it was one to which he never paid any court.

The wandering philosopher appeared next at Wittenberg, hoping for liberty of discussion, and for the frank and simple hospitality given by the German people to men of letters. That little city, the centre of Lutheranism, received him cordially. Standing in the hill-country of Saxony, Wittenberg shared with the Swiss, the Scotch,

and other mountain people the renown of independence. The town had known reverses. In 1547 the Spanish troops overran the neighbouring villages, stealing cattle, sacking houses, and leaving the unburied bodies of the wretched cottagers in the fields to be eaten by dogs. The Spaniards threatened not to leave one stone upon another in the dens of the heretics. But the Emperor Charles V. gave his word that not a Spanish soldier should enter the walls, and Wittenberg capitulated, only too soon, however, to be ravaged by the Thirty Years' War. Many tokens of peace and prosperity were preserved by the city throughout its troubles. In Bruno's time Luther's historic oak stood, as it still stands, outside the walls, and within them the Augustinian monastery to this day frowns at its strange and distasteful post of guardian over the traces of happy married life. Here Luther lived for nearly forty years, and his memory was still green within the walls, which he had quitted scarcely a quarter of a century before.

On the 20th August 1586 Bruno was permitted by the Rector Albinus to enter his name on the lists of the university, and at the same time he received permission to deliver private lectures. He remained in Wittenberg nearly two years, and, after London, the German city seems to have held the first place in his affection. Here he met once more his countryman Alberico Gentile, the founder of international law, whom he had first known in Oxford, and to whose good offices he owed his introduction to his post as lecturer upon the *Organon* of Aristotle (Doc. ix.) He received much kindness, too, from other professors, grateful notice of whose names is made in the short work on Lully, which was published in 1587 and dedicated to the senate of the university. The professors of Toulouse, Paris, and Oxford, he says, received him with grimaces, with upturned noses, puffed cheeks, and with loud blows on their desks; but the learned men of Wittenberg showed him courtesy, and left him at peace

to pursue the tenor of his philosophy. Besides the works on Lully and the theses of the Paris disputation, Bruno dictated to a pupil, Johann Heinrich Alsted, the historian and theologian of Herborn in Nassau, a small work upon the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle. In the dedication of the *Combinatory Lamp of Lully*, the first book with which he accosted the town, Bruno praises the "liberty of philosophy" practised by Wittenberg, "the Athens of Germany, the daughter of Minerva, and the queen of German schools." In these grateful terms he addressed the senate of the university, and the same spirit showed itself in his farewell oration. His dignified and pathetic tone is in striking contrast to the trumpet-blast with which he thought proper to assail the walls of Oxford. To the university senate of Wittenberg he writes (Gfr. 624): "You have received and supported me; you have dealt kindly with me up to this day. I was a stranger to you, a fugitive from the tumults of Gaul, not distinguished by any royal commendation, bearing no ensigns of honour, not proved nor questioned in your religion; but finding in me no hostile spirit (for I desire to follow the tranquil course of universal philanthropy), you received me gladly, deeming my name worthy to stand in the book of your academy, and to be counted among the most noble and learned of your people, that I might acknowledge as my own, not any private school, nor ordinary assemblage of scholars, but the German Athens, which is this great university." The book to which this address serves as a preface is a treatise on the art of Lully, presented to the university under the figure of a lamp or torch, by means of which ideas are evolved and marshalled in order, and the mysteries of Pythagoras and the Kabbalah unveiled. Bruno thinks it necessary in his address to apologise to the university for the novelty of his terms, because they were unavoidable in a science so novel as that of Lully; but as a fact the *Combinatory Lamp of Lully* was little more than a commentary on the *Compendious Architecture*.

Short explanations are given; they are compared with the *Alphabet*, the *Syllabicum*, and the *Dictionarium*. The same nine elementary concepts, with absolute and relative predicates and questions, appear arranged under the nine letters of the alphabet serving as signs or symbols. These are more accurately treated, and the notes, rules, and figures are much more numerous and better.

Another favourite image with Bruno is the chase. It is a figure to which he makes many allusions in the *Heroic Rapture*, and it serves for a title to a second work on Lully printed at Wittenberg. The *Chase of Logic* was dedicated to George Mylius, the chancellor of the university. It is an allegorical representation of logic and its application under the emblem of a hunt. The objects of perception are represented by a pathless and thorny enclosure (*campus*). In the midst of this enclosure is a tower (*turris*), which represents the object of speculation. The nearest fields or spaces (*agri*) to this tower are called accident, property, species, genus, definition. These latter, with the tower, are the objects of the chase. The hunter is man; the game is the solution of a dialectic problem; the hounds are of two kinds—the first, which are swift and light-footed, represent inductive reasons; the second, which are slow and strong, represent syllogisms. The parable is developed to the utmost limits of ingenuity. The net is the faculty of readiness in the choice of propositions and in uniting them to the syllogism in order to be able to bring down the game. A watch-tower is required to discover the game, signifying that we must carefully examine the object of the chase or investigation; and as the enclosure in which the hunt takes place is dense and thorny, means are offered for penetrating the thicket and clearing a path. The allegory is finished with a full description of the fields lying round the tower, and to each separate allegorical figure Bruno applies the mnemonic rules suited to it. The work concludes with an allegoric figure or

table of the supreme attributes of the Absolute, cut doubtless by Bruno's own hand. These attributes stand within a circle and round a sphere. They consist of Glory, Bounty, Magnitude, Duration, Power, Wisdom, Will, Virtue, and Truth. They are so arranged as to resemble a modern scientific diagram of the various modes of Power: heat, motion, sound, electricity, &c. They are, as it were, rays of light from a sun; each attribute occupies the same space as the other; each stands in the same relation to the Absolute (the centre or sphere); and each is apparently interchangeable with every other.

A university, which is a private union of men engaged in teaching and learning, was in the days of Bruno purely ecclesiastical by nature; and the University of Wittenberg was the first to obtain precedence for the Emperor instead of for the Pope. It was created on the model of the venerable school at Bologna, and consecrated in 1502, on the 18th of October, a day on which the horoscope was drawn and discovered to be propitious. St. Augustine was the chosen patron of the university, and St. Paul was patron of the Theological Faculty. Dr. Fleck, Prior of the Minorites, who preached the sermon on the day of consecration, predicted that out of this White Mountain (as he rendered the name of the town) living waters of wisdom should proceed and spread over the face of the earth. Six years later the prediction began to be verified, when Martinus Luder of Mansfeld entered his name on the rolls of the university. On the 1st of October 1517, Luther fastened to the doors of the church of All Saints the celebrated ninety-five theses, requiring, among other reforms, "that Christians should learn that if the Pope knew the extortions of dealers in indulgences he would blow the Church of St. Peter into the air with gunpowder rather than build it anew with the skin, flesh, and bones of his flock," and that "the true treasure of the Church is the most holy gospel of the glory and forgiveness of God."

Such was that "wisdom of the White Mountain" of which Dr. Fleck was the harbinger. Before a fortnight had passed Germany was ringing from north to south with the theses of Luther, and a few weeks later they had spread into Italy and Spain. The Priors besought him not to disgrace his order; and he answered in the words of Gamaliel, "If this counsel be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it." Hieronymus Schurff, when walking early in November with Luther to the Kemberg, said that no one in the Christian world would endure it if he persisted in writing against the Pope; on which Luther answered, "What if they must endure it?"

Dr. Fleck wept with joy when he read the proclamation of reform on the doors of the church. "He will accomplish this work," he cried; "it is he for whose coming all men look." Leo. X. in his letters acknowledged Brother Martin to be more prudent and ingenious than all his opponents put together; and the Emperor Max, openly declaring the tenets of Luther to be worthy of respect, was a joyful spectator of the opening of his struggle with the priests.

It was said that for one in Germany for the Pope, there were three for Luther. The profoundest scholar of the Greek language, Philip Melancthon, a youth one-and-twenty years of age, with a boyish and insignificant exterior and with an extraordinary charm of manner, took up his abode in Wittenberg in 1518. From that moment the study of the New Testament was ardently pursued, and Germany resounded with the fame of the two reformers. A square of stone is still shown near Leipsig, where, after a disputation, Luther and his companions dined, surrounded by two hundred students armed to the teeth. As a result of the disputation held with Eck of Ingolstadt, who hastened to Rome to lay his complaint against the reformer before the Pope, Luther's theses were ordered to be burnt, and he was himself pro-

nounced to be a dry branch, and one that could no longer be permitted to abide with the true vine. The question of Melancthon's belief or unbelief was discussed at Rome by the Pope and by Cardinal Bembo, the future Pope, in full counsel and with the solemnity of an affair of state. Meanwhile believers increased by hundreds yearly. Luther retaliated on those who had publicly burnt his theses at Ingolstadt and elsewhere by burning the Pope's bull before the Kreuzthor of Wittenberg, probably in the very spot where the effects of the plague-stricken were committed to the flames. "As thou," he is recorded to have said to the Papal instrument of correction, "hast afflicted the saints of the Lord, so may eternal fire afflict and consume thee;" and as soon as Luther left the spot some hundred of the students joined in a *Te Deum* and in a requiem for the Decretals. The reformer defended his action in a pamphlet in which he said he was ready to justify himself "in everything to every one." He was soon called upon to prove his words. The next year he was required to appear before the Emperor and the Imperial Diet at Worms, and he lay under the ban of the supreme civil authority, joined to the interdict of the Pope. Nothing abashed, he turned his time of imprisonment into consolation by revising the divine services and translating the Bible, and his deserted people in Wittenberg were gladdened at intervals by news of their leader and by his vindication of himself in his glorious rendering of the 37th Psalm.

Indeed his presence was sadly needed in his own town. As a consequence of the marriage of the priests, disturbances had broken out; celibacy was denounced out of the very pulpits from which it had been preached, and thirteen friars quitted the Augustine convent to become plain citizens or students. On the 3d December 1521 the younger burghers, armed with knives, forced an entry into the church during mass, seized the missals on the altar, and drove away the priests. Two days later an

attack was made upon the convent of the Minorites ; an altar in their chapel was demolished, and such a defiance fastened to their gates that the friars went in fear of their lives, and begged protection from the soldiery.

The Elector called upon Melancthon, then only twenty-four years of age, and upon three representatives from the university, with a convention of Augustine friars, to consider the question ; the partakers in rebellion were sent to prison, and the Elector, who hesitated in sanctioning any change, saw himself forced to submit to anarchy. The town rose, the churches were shorn of all superfluous splendour, and a sect began to administer the communion with reformed rites, raising meanwhile such an outcry against learning and learned men, that the affrighted burghers dared not send their children to school. It was high time Luther should reappear. Against the will of the Elector, but with a firm reliance on the help of God, the monk returned and took the affairs of the town in hand. A few months later the first copies of the New Testament appeared, and the power of the Papacy was broken. Henceforth the chaplains of the city were free to marry, and the Elector himself provided the game for the bridal table. The town-council, the chapter, and the university joined issue and forbade the Minorites to gather alms ; the older monks were sent to nurse the sick, and the young monks were recommended to learn a trade. The very prince who, in 1518, had written to Cardinal Rovere, "It would grieve me to the heart if errors were to arise and multiply within the Holy Church," was brought to receive the evangelic sacrament, and to acknowledge at his death that in the Lutheran doctrine he had found comfort and salvation. Thus, through the example of Frederick the Wise,¹ the strife came peacefully to an end, and while in many foreign cities martyrdom was following fast upon adher-

¹ *Wittenberg im Mittelalter*, von *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, G. Stier, Wittenberg, 1855 ; and München, Nov 7 8, 9, 10, 1883.

ence to Luther, it was in Wittenberg that the hour struck for the Reformation, not of Northern Germany alone, but of the whole of Northern Europe.

The Electors, who were charged with the defence of the altar and the hearth, had placed themselves at the head of the universities. As in England and in France, Latin was the language of the schools and theology, "the divine omni-science" still held undisputed sway. The faith had been guarded with zeal by the members of a Lutheran consistory. The Formula of Concord (which was nicknamed the Formula of Discord) had been promulgated; free examination of the Scriptures was rigorously forbidden. The gentle conciliatory teaching of Melancthon was seized upon by a sect calling themselves Philippists, and celebrated in invectives worthy of the Philippics of old. Another party proclaimed a blind allegiance to Luther. But the mantle of intolerance had descended upon the Reformers; and Bruno's star in Wittenberg was high, until it chanced that the Calvinists got the upper hand of the Lutherans, who favoured the Italian philosopher. While the Lutherans prevailed, Bruno was suffered to teach, but the old Elector, the father of the Concord, being dead, his son Christian¹ professed the teaching of Calvin, and Bruno, its desperate opponent, saw himself compelled to quit the city. When he arrived in Wittenberg in August 1586, some months after the accession of the Calvinist Prince Christian, (Feb. 11, 1586), the two factions must have been already at strife. By degrees the old order of things gave way to the new, and in 1588 the chancellor promulgated a decree by which the Lutherans were strenuously forbidden to molest the Calvinists on any point of doctrine. It was at this period that Bruno determined to depart,

¹ Born in 1560, this prince died the feeble and gluttonous son of a wise father.
at the age of thirty-one, and, an instance of contrariety in Nature, was

and on the 8th of March he pronounced the farewell oration to the senate, an outline of which next follows:—

Valedictory Oration of Doctor Jordanus Brunus of Nola to the Professors and Assemblage of the University of Wittenberg, March 8, 1588.

Of the splendour of the sun (which is apparent to the eye of sense), of the vastness of the universe (which is assured to every rational being), and of the power of God (which by the necessity of Nature we perceive to be boundless), who would not fear to speak? For is it possible that words, which in this conjuncture are but the signs and tokens of things, and of those ideas which are either born within us or acquired by experience, could do more than specify the presence and evidence of objects? It is, however, a worthy and exalted task to celebrate the praise of wisdom,¹ even though, when we denote the clear shining of the light, we do but darken it with obscure and feeble words. Yet I look for your pardon; and since fate decrees we shall deal in words with that which is unspeakable, let us bestow upon it what time and pains we may. Yet will I praise it as far as in me lies; although the soul to which this majesty has been imparted is below the measure of so lofty and sublime a conception, and as I perceive it the more with the eye of my mind, I am so much the more deprived of words, for I am one without the common graces of speech. Still rather than cause by silence the appearance of ingratitude, I would be taken for a most unlettered speaker.

When the three goddesses were presented to Paris on Mount Ida, that he might bestow the golden apple on

¹ The praise of wisdom and the vision of wisdom are the themes of the oration. According to "Hear-say," which Rabelais describes as "a monstrous, crooked, humpbacked, little old man," this oration was said to be a speech in praise of the Devil.

her who was most beautiful, he stood irresolute, his eyes and his heart distracted at the three presences. After a lapse of time he cried in doubt, "Each deserves the prize! O happy should I be, and worthy my judgment, if the three goddesses were one divinity, or if the apple were three! Behold, here is majesty, not without beauty and wisdom; wisdom not wanting in majesty and beauty, and beauty not without wisdom and majesty. O turn away your eyes from me, or I am lost! I cannot, O Mercury, make choice of one when I see the goddesses together; to choose, I must judge each deity alone."

First to the consort of Jove he cried, "O admirable divinity, radiant in queenly and awful aspect, thou alone art worthy of Jupiter! What can exceed this majesty, this divine glory? I am now assured that I prefer her before all others."

"Nay," said Mercury, "first let each goddess be judged alone."

Minerva now appeared. "O sky, O sea!" he cried, "what maid is this in whom such terrible splendour is united to such divine beauty? What eyes! O eternity, what a countenance, and what a wondrous form! What is all Nature compared to this? None other shall please me better, and I will not give my judgment against such excellence and glory."

"Consider," said Mercury, "the third goddess."

As soon as she appeared he exclaimed, "O Jupiter, thou enchanter! what a delight to the eyes, what wondrous, ensnaring, captivating beauty; how seductive and yet how innocent is her smile! Nothing, O Mercury, remains to be said!"

"Each goddess," he replied, "thou hast beheld and judged. Deliver thy judgment."

To whom Paris: "The beauteous prize, the apple of beauty, is allotted to the most beautiful."

See then, friends, in what manner he judged each and all of these; she who was last was first with him, for at

her singular presence and aspect the memory of that beauty which was absent fell into oblivion.

This legend denotes that which befalls me and many others when the question arises between desire and wisdom, or the gifts of fortune and of fate. They bestow the prize on Juno who aspire after high place, treasure, principalities, kingdoms, and empires; they seek Minerva who prefer judgment, wisdom, and understanding before all other gifts; and such as love friends, comrades, a life of ease, and the exquisite intercourse of beauty, will give the prize to Venus. Now, although all and each of these is by Nature pleasing to man, destiny has so provided that man can by no means serve each of these three deities faithfully, and therefore he cannot look for the favour of each. To one, not to three, is his rightful service due; for the golden apple (which is the heart's desire) is not three, but one. Therefore, let those in love give their service to Venus, for she is beloved of gods and men. Let others pay homage to Juno, who with Jove is the ruler of nations. Would you know who is the star and goddess of my adoration? What can I say of her? Have I beheld her unveiled and in her natural beauty? What mortal eye could look upon such beauty and such majesty and live? To see her is to become blind; to become wise by her is to be foolish. Have I seen her in truth, or was it a dream? I have seen her, and yet I became not mad nor blind.¹ . . . For though she looked upon me with a dark and threatening aspect (by which I knew she was not Venus, but Minerva), she drew me to her, and fettered me, as with a magic spell. And why has that maid so forbidding an air? I make reply, that Wisdom is without either the charms of beauty or the plenteous horn of wealth. True philosophers are few, but princes and marshals are many; and they who have

¹ Parts of the speech are omitted or transposed, on account of obscurity and repetition in the text.

The intrusion of words foreign to the sense has been carefully avoided.

seen Venus and Juno in the fulness of their beauty are more in number than those beholding Minerva clad and in arms. For her appearance, her garments and armour, she was equipped with a shining and terrible helmet, which overshadowed the virginal sweetness of her face, since no man is so defenceless that, having succeeded in approaching her, he cannot the better repel the onslaughts of fortune or bear them wisely. For since the life of man on earth is but warfare, it is Minerva who foils the devices of the ungodly, overcomes the proud, and frustrates the deceiver. Thus did she vanquish *Æge*o, and, fastening his skin to her breast, she possessed a shield from danger and a glorious ensign of her exploits: *Æge*o, that almost unconquerable monster, who, with the giants his fellows, sought to overthrow the might of heaven; that son of the earth, whose fifty heads breathed fiery flames, and whose hundred hands were armed with fifty swords, in which he trusted to subdue the adamantine gates, and with fifty shields to quench the dreaded lightnings of death hurled against him by Jupiter. In this war upon the giants (who scaled the loftiest crags and hurled against heaven such monstrous rocks that at their overthrow they came forth like islands from the sea), Minerva would have us learn how vain a thing is the very height of man's power against the truth of God; and how vain, too, in the sons of man are audacity, presumption, and the foolish imaginings of ignorance."

Next follows a description of the goddess's helmet, which is ornamented with a tuft of feathers, in order to signify that we are not to put our trust in strength alone, but at all times and in all places we are to show forth the ornament of a courteous and quiet spirit. The cock with outspread wings which adorns Minerva's crest represents the swiftness, vigilance, and foresight of the combatant; her keen-edged lance is his intelligence, ready for offence and for defence; while to them who oppose her she shows the Gorgon's head, for her formidable and admirable quali-

ties are such as strike the beholder dumb with awe. "Who is she, moving like the dawn? It is Wisdom, beautiful as the moon, shining like the sun, and terrible as a host arrayed for battle. Her throne, says the lyric poet, is next the throne of Jove; and, in the words of the prophet, 'I am Wisdom, and I dwell on the top of the high mountains, and my throne is on a pillar of cloud.' On the outer part of the throne I beheld and saw engraven an owl, which is her emblem; for night is not darkness to her, and for her the night shines with the light of day, and my countenance is not hidden from her. . . .

"And upon the surface of the throne, which is the work of Vulcan, was a wondrous representation of the universe, which is the work of the gods, a plastic picture, and underneath was written, 'He bestowed upon me the knowledge of all living things, so that to me the disposition of the sphere of the earth is laid bare, the powers of the elements, the beginning, the end, and the midst of time, the sway of fate, the changes of custom, the course and lapse of years, the order of the stars, the nature of life, the deadly rage of beasts, the powers of the winds, the thoughts of men, the variety of herbs, the virtue of roots; for that which is hid from others lies open for ever before me. For mine is the sacred spark which is unity and diversity; which is subtle, certain, sweet, sharp, learned, stable, benign, having all virtues, foreseeing all things.' I saw the palladium near the throne, and upon it power and deliverance; for a town having that statue within its walls is safe from plunder and from the enemy. She (Minerva) is a flash of light, the radiance of wisdom, and if she participates in the government of a state, she is its shield and its salvation. Now, therefore, if you inquire of her descent, it is from Jove; she has no mother, for she sprang from the head of Jupiter, according to the witness of the Orphic poets and the confirmation of the prophets. Hence this saying, 'I came forth from the mouth of Jupiter. Before the worlds were, I was.'

She is, as it were, the breath of the power of God and like a beam of the brightness of the Almighty. . . . She is radiant, because she is a spotless mirror of the majesty of God, and she is the emblem of his bounty ; she is all-powerful, for she is unity, and she is able to accomplish all things ; and enduring herself, she changes all things ; she is all good, for she goes forth to the righteous among nations, establishing the friends of God and the prophets ; she is pleasing to God, since he loves them who love wisdom ; she is incomparable, for she is more beautiful than the sun ; and if we liken her to the light of the stars she is still beyond compare. Those who behold her or her similitude are filled with enchantment. Hear the words of Solomon : ‘ I have preferred her before empires and thrones ; riches are nothing in comparison to her. There is gold and a multitude of rubies, but the lips of knowledge are a precious jewel (Prov. xx. 15). How much better is it to get wisdom than gold, and to get understanding rather to be chosen than silver ! ’ (*ib.* xvi. 16). She is an inexhaustible treasure of wealth, and he who participates in her benefits attains the friendship of God. And since in friendship all is for the common good, he who has wisdom is rich. What can Juno bestow which is not within the gift of Minerva ? What are the beauties of Venus which thou canst not behold in Minerva ? I have loved her with my whole soul from my youth up. . . . I have addressed myself to God, imploring him ; I have called upon him out of the depths of my soul, ‘ God of my fathers, merciful Lord, thou who hast made all things by thy word, and who hast created man, according to thy wisdom, that he may rule over all the creatures which thou hast made ; give me the consort of thy throne, give me Wisdom, and do not despise thy servant. Let her dwell with me, and work with me, acquaint my heart with Wisdom, that I may know where I am found wanting, and that which is pleasing to thee, for she knows all and comprehends all things ; she will

guide my actions with circumspection, and I shall dwell in her keeping.' Of a certainty she is sent forth by the Father of all; she is a most fruitful spirit, and he sends her forth; but under what aspect? Truly, in such wise as our spiritual eye is able to discern, dimly, and as it were in twilight. Like the sun, she is unapproachable, inapprehensible, lost as in deep concealment and abundance of light." . . . This and the succeeding passage repeat the opening of the oration. The three modes of perceiving the visible sun are then compared with the three modes of perceiving the sun of intelligence—in essence, in substance, and in activity. "In the first, the sun of the intelligence is called by the Cabalists Sephirot-cochma; in the second, Pallas or Minerva, receiving in the third the universal name of Sophia. In the first mode, wisdom is not acquired, nor imparted, nor comprehended, for it is removed from all things. Hear what Job says: "But where shall wisdom be found? and where is the place of understanding? Man knoweth not the price thereof, neither is it found in the land of the living. The depth saith, It is not in me; and the sea saith, It is not with me. . . . It is hid from the eyes of all living, and kept close from the fowls of the air. (That is to say, it is hidden from the sons of God, which are the stars, and from the watery earths, which move in the firmament and describe their course on high). Destruction and death say, 'We have heard the fame thereof with our ears. God understandeth the way thereof, and he knoweth the place thereof.'

"In the second mode, Wisdom is apparent in the shape and body of all things; it calls upon man with a thousand voices, and in all parts of the earth. For all things—the stars, animals, all bodies, and their adornment—are living voices of wisdom, the token and work of God. They manifest the most high Providence, and in them, as in a book, are written the wisdom, power, and bounty of God. For the invisible being of God is perceived and

recognised by that which he has created. Hear also what the Psalmist saith, ‘The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork. There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard. Their line is gone out to all the earth, and their words to the end of the world.’

“In the third mode, Wisdom is implanted within the spirit: established in the poop of the soul, guiding the helm of the ship, which is tossed hither and thither on the stormy waves of life. It is, moreover, the beacon of a spirit moving on the face of the darkness. These three abodes has Divine Wisdom: the first is not temporal, but eternal, and the very seat of Eternity; the second, or first-born (*primogenita*),¹ is the whole visible world; a third, the second-born, is the soul of man. Of the first Job says, ‘The Lord knoweth their dwelling-place.’ Of the second, Solomon, ‘I, Wisdom, dwell in the high places,’—that is to say, among the stars and in the everlasting firmament. Of the third he says, ‘I dwell in counsel and in the consideration of the wise, and my delight is to abide among the children of men.’ Here, then, among the sons of men Wisdom has built herself a house of reason and design (which is after the world), where may be seen the shadow and faint image of the first temple of the Archetype and the Ideal, which is before the world,” (united with) “the sensible, natural image, the image according to the senses and to Nature, which is the world.

“Here she has hewn for herself seven columns, namely, the seven liberal arts, which are grammar, rhetoric (with poesy), logic, mathematics, physics, ethics, metaphysics. . . . Upon these seven columns Wisdom has built her palace in earth; first in Egypt, in Assyria, and in Chaldaea; next, under Zoroaster, with the priests of Persia; later, among the Gymnosophists of India, and with Orpheus in Thrace; descending among the Greeks upon

¹ Unigenita (W. i. 261).

Thales and the other sages, among the Italians with Lucretius, Archimedes, Empedocles, and others. And, lastly, it is found among the Germans of our own times, moving, with Jove and with the seal of empire, from east to west;¹ for it is the image of a celestial palace, which follows the change and progress of the sun.

“And you, were you but to search the treasures you possess, you would not think me prone to flattery, for you are enlightened beyond all other nations. For since your country attained to the imperial dignity, there have been found among you many men great in art and in inventive genius, the like of whom there is not among any other people. Who is worthy to be compared with Albertus Magnus the Suabian? Is he not one greater than Aristotle, whose secret disciple he was accounted? And who, ye gods, who shall be likened to Cusa? Is he not so much the greater because he is accessible but to the few? Had not his priestly trappings checked the advancement of his soul, would he not have been, not the equal of Pythagoras merely, but one far greater than he?”

A panegyric is next pronounced upon “the sublime genius” of Palingenius; upon Paracelsus, “that wondrous physician, the rival of Hippocrates—what would not the gift of sober investigation have accomplished in him, had he not given the reins to his fantastic humour? I omit many who followed and still follow the Greek and Roman poets. Hath not Wisdom raised her palace among you? And let not kings envy kings the sacred knowledge of the stars, that lofty glance of princes into heaven, which went up, as it were, from vessels of divine wisdom among the leaders of the early nations, according to the saying of the poet Manilius, ‘that kings were first deemed

¹ “Westward the star of empire takes its way.”—*Bishop Berkeley*.

This curious progression occurs throughout Nature. Towns usually increase on the west side, colonies

spread from east to west, and it is from the *morgen land*, or eastern countries, that the seeds of learning travel to the virgin soil of the West.

worthy to touch the high things nearest heaven and to behold the fates linked to the moving stars.’¹

“For the Egyptians held Hermes Trismegistus and others in veneration for their high offices and great wisdom, placing them, when they died, on high among the stars; the Greeks also accounted Perseus, Cheiron, and Hercules for constellations; and in Germany there are princes who guard the secrets of the stars. The Emperors Charles V. and Maximilian, Rudolf, and the kings of Denmark and Norway, Christian III. and Frederick II., are not only the patrons, promoters, and restorers of the science, but they are the depositors of that which has been sepulchred for many ages, after having flourished in the time of the Chaldeans.” Next, the Landgrave William² of Hesse receives commendation, as one who sees with the eye of his own understanding, and perceives the justice of the Copernican theory. “Here, therefore,” he repeats, “Wisdom has built her house. Grant, O Jupiter! to the Germans to know their own strength and to practise the virtue of abstinence.³ Grant them grace to aim at lofty things, and they shall be not men, but gods. For the spirit of this nation is divine, and vast its strength, when inclination goes hand in hand with study. But whom have we passed by in silence? Who but he, the mighty hero, armed to the teeth with club and sword. He resisted the devouring monster, half fox and half lion, that vicar of the princes of hell, who by cunning and violence polluted the world, and, under the cloak of divine wisdom and of a simplicity which was pleasing to God, imposed on men a superstitious and barbarous worship. Who

¹ “The stars above us govern our conditions.”—*King Lear*.

² William IV. of Hesse-Cassel (1567–1592), the friend and protector of Tycho-Brahe.

³ In the *Expulsion* (W. ii. 212) we find Bruno banishes the constella-

tion Aquila, “the divine and heroic bird, which is the type of empire,” to “Germany, the wine-bibber,” where “inns are more plenteous than rooms.” The cup, moreover, is dedicated by him to the service of the Teutons (W. i. 247).

but he went forth single-handed to encounter that ravenous beast and to raise up the fallen and corrupted age? Whence came he? From Germany, from the banks of the river Elbe, from the abundance of the springs of living water. Out of the depths of Orcus, your Hercules drew the monster with his triple crowns, triumphing over the steely doors of hell, and over the city guarded by three-fold walls, and enfolded nine times in the streams of Styx. Thou hast seen the light, O Luther, thou hast seen it; thou hast heard the awakening spirit of God, and hast not withstood it; thou hast fought with the adversary which dwelt safely among the mighty upon earth: with the power of the Word thou didst encounter and drive him back, and the trophies of the insolent enemy thou hast laid at the foot of the throne of God.

“Here hath Wisdom built her house, here hath she poured out wine for her libation, and here she bids all men enter in to her supper,—Italians, and men from France, Spain, England, dwellers in the East and in the West, in the south country, and in the polar isles. Among them, I came hither also, that I might visit this palladium and behold this house of Wisdom, for whom I suffer poverty willingly, with envy and hatred, and the execration and ingratitude of those I was wont to serve or desired to serve; for they whom I loved turned upon me, and those who owe me honour cast me off and slander me.

“But I will not be abased by insult, nor by the scorn of the vile and ignorant; for though they wear the garb of men, at heart they are wild beasts and full of evil and arrogance. Therefore I will not shrink from grief and banishment, because labour aided me, and sorrow gave me counsel, and out of exile came the lesson of adversity; for in the suffering which endures but for a moment I have found length of rest; out of my light affliction came the fulness of joy, and in the barrenness

of exile were the consolations of my kindred and my country. . . .

“For I came to you a stranger and a pilgrim, outlawed, the sport of fate, small of stature, poor in fortune and in defenders, oppressed by the hatred of the multitude, and despised by the ignoble herd, who look for merit to be ushered in amid the applause of their fellows, and with sounding gold and tinkling silver.

“You, O most learned, grave, and courteous senators, do not despise me; you have not rejected the Nolan philosophy, which is not altogether alien to the philosophy of your own nation. Nay, I had liberty to teach, and for the space of almost two years I shared the protection of your domestic deities, and I received generous entertainment at your hands. Lending no ear to my enemies, you displayed the virtues of your courtesy and forbearance to the whole of the world; and when I signified my desire to depart, you came in numbers to hear me; not your youths only, but studious men and full of academic honours. How, O Jove, shall I declare my gratitude?

“Let me invoke the gods of the elements, the tutelary deities of the stars and stainless skies. I beseech you, ye nymphs, dryads, and hamadryads, dwellers in those woods whose spicy roof-trees have so often yielded me shelter; and you, ye lawgivers like Numa, ye mighty emperors and kings, ye poets like Virgil, ye orators like Cicero, give your benediction to the land, and bid it bear laurels, myrtles, clasping ivy, the juicy vine, the blessed olive, and the palm of victory. Ye fauns, ye satyrs, and ye sylvan gods, tend the fields, govern the plains, foster the herds, and make the land fruitful; not alone in heroes, but in such blessings as crown the rich Campagna, Araby, and the garden of the Hesperides. Ye, too, nymphs and nereids of that stream on whose verge I could cry peace and gladly breathe my soul into the air, keep watch and ward over the land; let the river run with

silver; inlay her shores with gold, and bid her triumph over the Nile, the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Rhone, the Po, and the insolent Tiber. And thou, Eye of the World, Light of the Universe, thou who turnest darkness into light, return and bring this nation happier days, months, years, and ages. And thou, Bootes, untiring guardian of earth, thou who guidest Charles's wain, and never turnest thy watchful eye from man, deliver the land from bears, wolves, lions, and all ravening beasts, which wander in the darkness. And may the Omnipotent Father of all, the God of gods, under whose sway is all good and evil fortune, mine and yours alike, may he answer and confirm our prayers."

CHAPTER VIII.

“That knowledge only which is of Being and the unseen can make the soul look upwards.”—PLATO.

Prague, 1588. Helmstedt, January 13, 1589.

IMMEDIATELY on pronouncing this oration Bruno quitted Wittenberg, and the way by water being cheaper than by land, he probably went by the Elbe to Prague, then the seat of a purely German university and the residence of the Emperor Rudolph II. The Nolan arrived in Prague towards Easter 1588, but the records of the university for this period are missing, and the exact date of his matriculation is not known. He was no doubt too sanguine in looking for liberty of philosophy as his right in an age when it was not even accorded as a privilege; but the lingering and impressive words in which he paid his tribute to the heroes of German science, and to Germany as the country which had harboured him in happier days, the memory he preserved of the trees in whose shadow he had found repose, and of the stream on the banks of which he had breathed liberty with the air, prove his grateful spirit, and justify in some measure the hope he entertained of finding comfort and employment in Prague, such as he had received in Germany and in France. Many circumstances might have assisted in procuring him a welcome: the well-known inclination of Rudolph II. for science; the protection of the Spanish ambassador, who was high in the Emperor's favour; and the memory of Sir Philip Sidney, who may have assisted the Nolan with letters to the court. Some twelve years earlier Sidney had been sent by Elizabeth to this prince

to communicate her condolence on the death of the Emperor Maximilian. The young Emperor was at that period mild and humane, a lover of the arts, and possessed of more than a fair share of credulity. "The Emperor," writes Sidney to Walsingham, who was then the Secretary of State, "is holy (wholly) by his inclination given to warres, few of words, sullain of disposition, very secrete and resolute; nothinge the manners his father had in winninge men in his behaviour, but yet constante in keeping them; and such an one, though he promise not much outwardly, but, as the Latins say, *aliquid in recessu*—extremely spaniolated."

Of Rudolph II. may be said what in after times was said of Frederick, Prince of Wales—"His condescension was such that it led him into very bad company." At this court the renowned Dr. Dee found refuge, and in 1584 he was permitted to dedicate a work on magic to the Emperor, who spent days in attendance on the crucible or in the society of locksmiths. His nights were devoted to drawing horoscopes, and he passed so much time in the stables that he wore a groom's dress to escape observation. To this prince Bruno addressed a small work, entitled *One Hundred and Sixty Theses against the Mathematicians and Philosophers of the Age*, receiving a counter-present of three hundred dollars. The dedication breathes the intrepid spirit which had already so often shown itself. Bruno once more announces it as his mission to free the souls of men and to triumph over the ignorance which accounts itself as learned; he laments the detestable strife of creeds, and he proclaims charity and love to be the only true religion.

If, he said, the distinction between light and darkness were recorded by Nature, that ancient conflict of opinions for which generations have persecuted each other would come to an end; nor would man lift his hands to heaven, thinking himself the sole possessor of the truth, and believing that God, though the Father and Giver of life eternal to him, is an inexorable and cruel judge, the

Avenger, who awards eternal death to others. Whence it follows, that whilst the various races and sects of men have each their own worship and discipline, every one usurps for himself the highest place, and holds in contempt the worship and discipline of others. Hence proceed wars and the breaking of natural bonds; hence those men who by means of imposture lift themselves on high and give themselves out to be messengers from God; hence the innumerable ills which afflict the world, because of which it may be said that man is more hostile to man than to all the other animals; and hence the law of love made known amongst the nations is now fallen into neglect; while men do not seek to practise that general philanthropy which makes them love their enemies, and likens them to God, who suffers his sun to shine upon the good and upon the wicked, and the rain of his mercy he showers upon the just and the unjust. "This is the religion," he adds, "which, without any controversy and beyond all dispute, I observe, as well by the assured resolution of my soul as by reason of the customs of my country and of all nations." The battle between light and darkness, between knowledge and ignorance, rages eternally; but by the hand of truth and by the leading of the light which is divine, the philosopher overcomes hate and envy, clamour and insult, though in peril of his life from the people, in themselves dull and void of reason, and stirred up by the fathers who have graduated in the senate of ignorance. He holds it right not to yield to the habit of faith, but to doubt all things, even that which others receive for established truth. For it is contrary to the dignity of human freedom to follow the herd, and he would look upon himself as ungrateful and unworthy of the light given to him by God if he came forth except as the adversary of the rusty learning of the schools.¹

¹ Berti, who cannot be called a friendly critic, says of this dedication, "Here Bruno appears to pro-

fess himself the follower of a Christianity which is found in all religions, and therefore excludes none."

It will be remembered that in the farewell address to Wittenberg, the name of Rudolf is mentioned by Bruno with praise; and the Emperor himself, though he ranked among what are called the Middlings by a late English writer, was ready to help genius, partly no doubt from a shrewd disposition to help himself; for he was one of those princes "whose lofty glance searches the skies" (*Or. Valed*), and to the secrets of astrology and alchemy he looked for the good fortune which fate denied to his talents. Great wit, we are told by the poet, is nearly allied to madness, and astronomy is not far removed from astrology. "Nature," wrote Kepler, "which has conferred upon every animal the means of subsistence, has given astrology as an adjunct and ally to astronomy;" and it would have been a hard matter had the Emperor, among the crowd of charlatans and magicians by which his court was infested, not lighted upon some names likely to give it lustre. Tycho Brahe, who is called by Bruno the prince of the astronomers of his time (*De Mon.* 167), was permitted to follow his calling in Prague; and here the great Kepler spent eleven years in developing his poetic theories on the universe. How far he was indebted to the studies of his predecessor it is hard to say. A letter is extant (*Galileo Opere Compiute*, vol. viii. p. 59) in which Martin Hasdale intimates to Galileo the regret of Kepler for having omitted in the *Nuneio Sidereo*¹ to make "laudatory commemoration" of the Nolan.

Bruno did not arrive at the court of Rudolph II.

¹ In another letter, written by Dr. Brengger, and dated 7th March 1608 (*Joannis Kepleri Astronomi Opera Omnia*, ed. Frisch, vol. ii. p. 591), we find, "They write of Bruno *prunis tostis*, which I take it is that he was burnt; is this certain, and when and for what reason? Tell me, for I have compassion for him." On the 5th April Kepler replied, "I know from Wacker that Bruno was burnt in Rome, and that he bore the anguish with fortitude,

declaring that all religions are vain, and that God is one with the world, the circle, and the point." When this extravagant assertion reached Brengger, he shrewdly replied, "What advantage could Bruno reap from enduring torments for the sake of such crazy imaginations? (*insania*). If there exists no God to avenge wickedness, as he believed, could he not with impunity have feigned one and so saved his life?"

altogether unbefriended. Attracted by the doubtful fame of the Emperor, and hoping no doubt that astronomy and the art of Lully might receive the welcome given by the court to the occult sciences, Bruno, moreover, had a right to expect that his name would be known at Prague, where Fabrizio Mordente (on whom it will be remembered the Nolan had written a laudatory pamphlet two years before) held the post of astronomer-royal. Accordingly we find that the dedication of two small Latin works on the *Art of Memory* was accepted by the Spanish ambassador San Clemente, "to whom," says Bruno (Gfr. 604), "the *Art of Lully* was dear."

These small divided chapters on mnemonics, or "mnemonic proposals," were printed as Bruno moved his quarters, partly to explain his system and to aid his pupils at the various academies, and partly to bring the art as he pursued and developed it into public notice. Substantially they contained little that was new. The *Lullian Architecture* was presented under different aspects and with fresh dedications to suit its various patrons; but in this instance, the little work sent into the world under cover of the envoy of Philip II. was the same at all points as that printed at Wittenberg under the title of the *Combinatory Lamp of Lully*, except for the addition of a few fresh pages by way of dedication and preface. The *Art of Lully*, the improvement of which had occupied the whole of his life, was, in Bruno's opinion, a wondrous specific for purifying and strengthening the memory, for reviving the invention and for furthering description and argument. Accordingly, a forest, a hunt, game, hounds, nets, arms, every symbol was employed to rouse the interest of his pupils in this epitome of the universe. The science of Lully is raised on one foundation, which is eternal or universal, and tends to one end, which is the Being of beings. Thus it forms a circle, the beginning and end of which is God. This idea of Being will be found to lie at the base of Bruno's calculations;

he divides it into nine, perhaps in honour of the Muses, perhaps because Dante wrote of nine sciences and Ptolemy accepted nine heavens; and Bruno looked to the Grand Art to display at a glance the unity of Being and its branches.

He held thought to be a representation within us, the inner writing of that which is written by Nature in outward things. These, though exterior to us, are reflected within us; and our power to receive them and to arrange them is the same as the power of Nature, which receives within itself and reflects in its bosom shadows of the vast and glorious reality which is one with God.

The city of Prague, however, offered the wandering scholar no inducement to lengthen his stay. The comfort and encouragement of pupils, so dear to his heart, were denied him, and after six or seven months (Doc. ix.) he soon found it advisable to quit the city.

He left Prague towards the close of 1588, and making halts by the way, of which no record is left, he turned his steps towards Helmstedt, in the hope of finding succour and advancement in the flourishing academy of Julius. The university in which Bruno next tried his fortune was then the newest of the great German schools. Founded in 1576 it soon became the rallying-point of Protestantism. Its professors, animated by the liberal spirit of their patron, Duke Julius of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, taught the new doctrines with enthusiasm. On entering upon their course they had to reckon with certain antique prejudices; but these once overcome, fair sailing under royal auspices began.

In a few imperious words the old Duke had signified his intention to break loose from the thralldom of the theologians. "We will not," he said in conference on the 6th of July 1582,¹ "be ruled by the theologians, for they, as well as we, are subject to the will of God. He

¹ Bodemann in his article on Duke Julius of Brunswick in Müller's *Zeitschrift f. deutsche Culturgeschichte*, vol. i., 1872, p. 197-238.

does not purpose to fill his mansions on high with theologians only, nor did he die for them only, but for all men upon earth, without distinction or difference; heaven is for us as well as for them. Moreover, we declare them to be as far asunder from each other as heaven and earth, since there is not one of them can dwell in love and harmony with his brother, but each and all strive after the world and the goods of the world, following in many things the thoughts and desires of mortal men. We, however, are not minded to be ruled by theologians who stand with one foot in the pulpit and the other in the Duke's council-chamber. These doings are not for us, and we eschew them, and we admonish all other princes from our soul to resist the theologians to the death, lest the land be given over to war and bloodshed. For churches are neither built nor maintained by haughty and envious misdoers; and the hearts of these theologians are full of hatred and malice, while they strive to establish the formula of concord among their neighbours." It is one of the strange contradictions of human nature that the distaste of this prince for bigots stopped short at his own person. A passionate Lutheran, it was in order to protect his people in their youth from the inroads of the Papacy, and to ground them firmly in the tenets of the Lutheran Church, that he founded the university, over which he watched with deep and unremitting care, relaxing his naturally miserly habits in order to provide munificently for the foundation, and to furnish it with a costly library; although it was spitefully said by a professor of the neighbouring town of Marburg that the Duke set up his school as much from opposition to the views of his late father, who was a bigotted Catholic, as to aid the Reformation. The Duke rested neither night nor day till the benefits of learning were secured to his people. The university soon became noted as the resort of princes and of many distinguished foreigners. Its delightful situation between the banks

of the Lower Elbe and the Weser, the fame of its professors, on whom, since they held a six months' contract, the rust of the schools could scarcely fasten; above all, the freedom allowed to the reformed religion, combined to attract a numerous and wealthy concourse of students.

Unfortunately the time arrived too soon for the reformed Church to arrogate to itself not merely spiritual but temporal dominion. The history of theology became the history of the German universities, and while at Tübingen all heads were busy with the ubiquity of Christ, the ruler of Helmstedt made a solemn declaration "that he could not endure a Calvinist; nay, had his consort a son who was a Calvinist, he should be disowned and called the offspring of the devil." Stern Protestant as he was, Duke Julius was not without liberal sentiments. He sought to pass a law favouring the Jews; and he permitted his heir, then a lad of fourteen, to become Bishop of Halberstadt, where he was inducted with the full Papal rites, while at the same time two younger princes submitted to the tonsure in return for church-lands which for some time had been alienated from the ducal family of Brunswick.

In 1589 the University of Helmstedt supported fifty professors and had matriculated some five thousand scholars. On their installation the professors were required to take an oath to "maintain concord and peace among their fellows, to hurt no man's dignity, and to give no occasion for discord; and (which God in his mercy forbid) should matter for dispute arise, to do all things possible for the fulfilment of the true end of the law, which is peace, and brotherly affection." In what spirit these excellent recommendations were followed, the history of the University of Helmstedt (Henke, *Georg Calixtus und seine Zeit*, Halle, 1853) remains to prove. Eye and brain alike weary in following the trivial contentions which lacerated the academic body; for these learned professors were distracted by vanity and intolerance,

and completely given over to the proverbial *querelle allemande*.

At the turn of the year Bruno was in Helmstedt, where he matriculated on the 13th January 1589.¹ After the lapse of a few months, on the 3d May 1589, Duke Julius died, and the Nolan was again thrown upon his resources by the death of a protector. The academy appointed four days, from June 8th to the 11th, on which to deliver funeral orations in memory of its founder; and Bruno, on account of the favour shown him by the late Duke, was permitted to join in this ceremony. His oration at the close of the proceedings was shortly after printed. On the 1st of July, before the assembled university, he pronounced his eulogium on the Duke, praising the propitious fate, which, after he had suffered many adversities and much tribulation for the cause of truth, had at length brought him to a land of liberty. "Remember, O Nolan!" he cried, "remember that when, torn from thy country, thy labours, and thy friends, thou wast an exile for love of truth, this country received thee as a citizen. There, thou wert exposed to the fang of the Roman wolf; here, thou art a free man. There, thou wert the bondsman of a vain and superstitious worship; here, thou art encouraged to follow the rites of a reformed religion. There, thou wert dead under tyranny; here, thou art alive under the rule of a

¹ It has been affirmed by several biographers that Bruno was called by Duke Julius from Prague in order to act as tutor to the heir-apparent. No evidence of this fact is forthcoming, although it is quite possible that Bruno may have given the Prince, then twenty-five years old, instruction in astronomy and in the Lullian system of mnemonics. The words of Bruno in the opening of the funeral oration, "Not chance, but Providence brought me hither," seem to prove that he did not arrive at Helmstedt on the invitation of the Duke.

The following is a copy of the entry of matriculation as it is given by Professor Sigwart:—"1589, Jan. 13. — Jordanus Brunus Nolanus, Italus.—M. Justus Meierus Noniomagus, Geldrus, *Grat.*"

No other person was entered on that date: the word *Grat.* denotes that the reception of the person against whose name it stands, was free of expense. Inquiry made at Wolfenbüttel results in a courteous reply from Dr. Von. Heinemann, the Ducal librarian, that there are no unpublished documents relating to Bruno in that place.

gentle and humane prince, and loaded with favour and with honours. To him, as to thy true sovereign, thy protector and thy benefactor, thou shalt fulfil the obligations imposed on thee by thy gratitude. Here the Muses, whose freedom is ensured by the law of Nature, by the right of nations, and by the just demands of civilisation, dwell in peace and liberty under the safeguard of a high-minded prince; while in Italy and Spain they are trodden under foot by a vile disorderly priesthood; in France they are subjected to the evils of civil war; in the Netherlands they are cast down and afflicted, and in other regions of Germany they languish miserably."

Henry Julius, who now ascended the throne, was that Bishop of Halberstadt who, according to a preacher of the time, by receiving the tonsure had been sacrificed to Moloch. The liberal education which the old Duke had never enjoyed he was careful to give to his son, and the fame of the young prince's learning had spread to all the courts and universities in Germany. The strife of the time and the dissensions of creeds, which, we are told by Hazlitt, sharpen the understanding and brace the will, had their due effect upon his nature. He had experimentalised in alchemy till he had thoroughly searched out its weakness; theologic quarrels, the favourite pastime of princes of that age, had no charm for him; he learnt thirteen trades; he was a better writer of original German plays than any of his contemporaries, according to the historian Gervinus; and he was learned alike in Greek philosophy and in Roman law. Connected by marriage with the more luxurious courts of England and of Denmark,¹ he loved state; and he expended the resources husbanded by his father in raising palaces and public buildings, and in maintaining a large army.

Eighty dollars "of that country" (Doc. ix.) were handed to Bruno in token of the young Duke's thanks for

¹ Henry Julius was present at the marriage of his sister-in-law, Anne of Denmark, with James VI., November 23, 1589.

the oration. But, in placing his reliance wholly on the protection of Henry Julius, the Nolan proved to be reckoning without his host. "Where Lutheranism prevails," Erasmus wrote, "letters are destroyed;" and the fury of the contending sects in Helmstedt ran so high, that to be a lover of antiquity meant to be no Christian, while the hope of the Church was held to be irreconcilable with learning. All the ducal patronage did not avail against the carping spirit of the doctors and schoolmen. On the one side was the Nolan breathing defiance, and on the other the army of place-hunters to whom the rules of grammar and the ceremonies of the Church were more vital than the whole of the law and the gospel. These men repaid tenfold the scorn and intolerance which Bruno openly professed for them. The opinion of the many was, he said, the judgment of fools; a dangerous sentiment in one keenly sensitive to attack and persecution, and forced to cope single-handed with the world.

Some months after the funeral of Duke Julius, Bruno came into collision with Boëthius, then pastor of the Evangelic Church; and on a Sunday morning the unfortunate philosopher found sentence of excommunication had been pronounced upon him from the chief pulpit of the city.

All that is known of this matter appears in the following letter now preserved in the archives of Wolfenbüttel:—

"Most Illustrious and most Reverend Master Pro-Rector, —Jordanus Brunus, the Nolan, excommunicated by the chief pastor and superintendent of the Church of Helmstedt (who constituted himself judge in his own cause, and did himself execute his own sentence delivered against an adversary who was not permitted to respond in his own defence), humbly protests before your magnificence, and before the potent and reverend members of your senate, against the public execution of this private and most iniquitous judgment. He demands to be heard, that he may judge whether the attack made upon his person and reputation is just; for, in the words of Seneca,

‘He who delivers judgment, and hears but one side, though he judge justly, is not just.’

“Therefore he entreats your Excellence to summon the reverend pastor, and to examine and see whether (if it please God) he can establish his cause, and prove that in invoking the thunders of the Church he had regard not to any private malice, but to his duty as a shepherd and to the welfare of his flock.—Helmstedt, Oct. 6, 1589, written in the hand of Jordanus Brunus.”¹ . . .

It would seem to follow from the sentence of excommunication that Bruno had formally joined the Church of Helmstedt. This is scarcely more likely than that he joined the Church of Geneva. In spite of his panegyric upon Luther at Wittenberg—inspired perhaps by a fellow-feeling for one against whom every man’s hand was raised, rather than dictated by sympathy for the theologian—he not only did not accept the dogmas of Protestantism, but jested at them openly. Certain formalities, even in our own time, are essential to matriculation, and with these he must *pro formâ* have complied, or he could not have looked for subsistence in any university town. There could have been no other ground of adhesion to the reformed religion; and the danger of the excommunication of course lay in the fact, not that Bruno was not permitted to attend the church, but that to forbid his attendance was to attack his existence, since his pupils would fear to attend his lessons.

In Helmstedt he appears to have occupied himself in working out a new and connected scheme of his philosophy, on a basis rather mathematical than metaphysical; and here he probably began his work on the *Threefold Minimum*, in April 1590. For from the first book it appears that he was still at Helmstedt during the festivities attending the marriage of the Duke;² and having chosen two of his works, on the *Threefold Minimum* and on the *Monad*, to mark his

¹ The date and signature only are said by Dr. Von Heinemann to be in the hand of Bruno.

² The marriage took place on the 19th of April 1590.

gratitude to Henry Julius, so it remained for a third to serve him as an instrument of vengeance on the offending theologians. The poem *De Immenso*, published in 1591 at Frankfort, contains countless thrusts at two individuals, called the Priest and the Grammarian, for whom, in all probability, Boëthius and Hofmann had sat as portraits; and here is the key to the mystery, and the clue to the disappearance of the daring herald of the Copernican theory from the limited horizon of Helmstedt. The point of dispute was the constitution of the heavens, but the quarrel was embittered by matters pertaining to earth. "It is," Bruno wrote from Frankfort, in that array of Latin hexameters and prose notes upon conceptions of unity, number, quantity, and space to which he gave the name of *De Immenso*,—"It is true that the dust and ashes of honest thinkers weigh more upon the balance than the souls of such as falsify the words of the great (Copernicus), maintaining that the heavens stand still while the earth moves, but not the moon and all the other stars."

With a pardonable want of civility, he exhorts the cobbler to stick to his last (p. 266; P. I. p. 173-174; B. iv. c. 10, p. 399, &c.), and finally calls in plain terms upon his two enemies to abstain from compromising their dignity by meddling with matters which they did not understand. It was no doubt a hardship that Boëthius, the instigator of Bruno's excommunication, should have put forward another ecclesiastic to accuse the philosopher, allotting to himself the part of judge in the cause, without giving ear to the Nolan's defence, and, so far as we know, without answering his demand for satisfaction; and Bruno, whose stormy spirit exulted in strife, was not slow to take vengeance.

In this forcible and well-merited attack upon pedagogues and theologians, Boëthius appears as the *neotericus* and *reverendissimus*, the latter a title bestowed upon him by Bruno in his letter to Hofmann. The Grammarian is once entitled Rector, which points to the intolerant Hof-

mann, who was rector of the Helmstedt University; one, according to Bruno, not less ignorant in grammar than in philosophy, and whose hide was scarcely fit for leather (P. i. 175). The Protestant zealot, Daniel Hofmann, to whom Bruno's letter was addressed, was then pro-rector and professor of philosophy; and, beginning life as a student in philosophy (a science which, later in life, he considered the enemy of religion), he comprehended all philosophers in his hatred of their calling. In 1578 he became doctor of divinity, and he was soon known as the chief of a rancorous intolerant party calling themselves Hofmanniani. He first came into notice when the Duke intrusted him with the task of refuting the Formula of Concord at the colloquy of Quedlinburg. One of the vulgar indestructible species which, from time immemorial, have oppressed and tortured the lonely forerunners of progress, he spent his time in battling with the doctrine of ubiquity and the confession of faith; and when attacking the scholastic philosophy, he declared that Aristotle favoured Pelagianism, and that many matters true in philosophy were false in religion.

It is satisfactory to know that Bruno's accusers, somewhat later, fell severally under the censure of the governing body. Boëthius incurred formal condemnation. As a result of one of the countless quarrels upon the ubiquity of Christ, he was called before the General Consistory held in March 1615, and there admonished "never to commit himself in such wise again, and to hold that learned assembly in greater respect than heretofore;" with no salutary result, however, for the next year brought him once more under censure.¹

¹ The students were careful to follow the turbulent examples set by their pastors and masters. In 1590 Caselius of Rostock found their manners open to severe reproof. They were said to be soldiers rather than students; lubberly and quarrelsome youths; the elders bullying the younger, and the whole uniting

at times against the professors, when it became necessary to call in the help of the law to settle their differences. In 1601 Hofmann was called upon by the Duke himself to make a formal recantation of his errors, and to apologise to two of his opponents, after which he was bidden to quit Helmstedt for ever.

The results of Bruno's protest against the tyranny of Boëthius and Hofmann are easy to divine. We have it on his evidence that he remained "about a year" (Doc. ix.) in Helmstedt; which would give him at least three months in that city after his excommunication. Deprived of the power of lecturing at the university, he saw his livelihood slowly ebbing from him, and having entered on a mortal combat with powers above his own, no choice was left him but to depart.

He appeared at Frankfort, which was his next resting-place, towards the middle of 1590; and, though some time must have been consumed on the journey, it is scarcely likely that he quitted Helmstedt before April or May of that year. The rancour of the theologians may have passed out of his mind when "beholding," in the words of Milton, "the bright countenance of Truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies," although the stress of his poverty must sooner or later have recalled him to himself. In the midst of all peril and difficulty, however, he preserved a grateful remembrance of the younger Duke. While at Frankfort in 1591 he dedicated his book *Of the Monad* to Duke Henry Julius, and on leaving Frankfort for his ill-timed journey to Venice, he committed to the hands of the printer, Wechel, his finished manuscript of the *Threefold Minimum*, with a recommendation that it should also be dedicated to the Duke. These dedications and his eulogium (*De Trip.* 60, 80) on the occasion of the prince's marriage remain as his thanks for the hospitality of the German prince.

"Behold, O Divinity! the earth's best possession; behold the son of Julius, issue of the antique kings who vanquished the nations of Europe, overcame the sultry empires of Lybia, the vast lands of Asia, and gave back to Germany the trophies wrested from her by the arms of Rome." The high-flown verse then calls down blessings on the Duke and on his royal bride, Elizabeth, the sister of Anne of Denmark, who, "even when entwined with

garlands at the festival of hymen," are adjured to remember their lofty estate, to entertain projects worthy of their heroic race, and to fulfil the duties of their calling with wisdom and moderation. These compliments, vague and high sounding as they were, set their seal upon the fate of Bruno. Before the tribunal of the Inquisition he was charged with the offence of "composing books in which he had praised the Queen of England and other heretic princes;" and in the margin of the ninth document of his trial in Venice the ominous words "*who was a heretic*" stand against the name of Henry Julius, Duke of Brunswick.

CHAPTER IX.

“The persuasion that there is indeed a Sovereign, the Upholder of the worlds, rejoices the soul of the sage, and causes him to despise the fan of vulgar souls, which is death.”—*De Immenso*.

Frankfort, July 2, 1590. On the Threefold Minimum. On the Monad, the Innumerable, the Immense, and the Unfigurable. On the Composition of Images, Signs, and Ideas.

As soon as a certain quantity of his work was ready for the press, Bruno set off for Frankfort, then the capital of the German book-trade. Towards the end of the sixteenth century it was so difficult to obtain scarce volumes that copies were still made by hand.¹ A book printed in Oxford was to be had in London only at great trouble and expense; and to buy books printed abroad agents from London attended the yearly or half-yearly fairs at Frankfort, Leipsic, and other places on the Continent.

Italian booksellers came to Frankfort to exchange their own literary productions and those of other Italian presses against the work of the German printers, and from Frankfort catalogues of books issued and spread over Europe like so many precious chronicles of literary progress.

The fairs at Frankfort were held at Easter and Michaelmas, and the quantity of books which changed hands was so great, that, in the words of an eye-witness,²

¹ The work on the *Composition of Images, Signs, and Ideas* was probably finished, and a certain part of the book on the *Minimum* appears to have been written, in Helmstedt. With so much work on hand, it was natural that Bruno

should travel towards the headquarters of the booksellers.

² *Relazione della Corte e Stati del Serenissimo Ferdinando Maria, da Conte G. Gualdo Priorato*. Leyden, 1668.

writing some half century later, "it was in truth a feast for the Muses, so many and so marvellous were the books displayed at this fair." Estienne, in his encomium upon Frankfort, writes, "Let the Italians visit these antique fairs, and say whether the Germans are not accomplished in other things beside the mechanical arts; let them look at home, and see whether they possess any show to equal these fairs."

On the 2d July 1590 an entry occurs in the record of the town-council of Frankfort-on-the-Main,¹ in which Bruno petitions for permission to live in the house of the printer Wechel.² This was peremptorily refused by the Burgomaster, in the following terms:—

"*Thursday, July 2, 1590.*—Since Jordanus Brunus Nolanus, philosophiæ naturalis studiosus, entreats to be graciously permitted to spend several weeks in the house of Johann Wechel, printer³ . . . Resolved his request shall be refused and he required to go and earn his bread elsewhere."

The excommunication of Boëthius, informal as it was, perhaps designated Bruno as an enemy, and by following him to Frankfort may have warned the community against him. Refuge in the house of Wechel having been denied him, the convent of the Carmelites gave him shelter; and here, at the cost of Wechel, he spent about seven months, while his books were printing, cutting with his own hands the explanatory figures, and engaging to be responsible for all corrections. Here he made the acquaintance of the booksellers who went twice every year to the Frankfort fair, some of whom were lodged in the

¹ *Book of the Burgomaster*, No. 160, p. 48.

² The family of Wechel were known to Sir Philip Sidney.

³ With regard to Wechel's plan of lodging Bruno in his own house, it was common to the great printers thus to secure the services of scholars. Many illustrious names appear as

correctors for the press during that period. Earlier in the century (1542) Rabelais was employed in this manner at Lyons for the house of Sebastian Gryphius, and Aldus of Venice, Froben of Basle, Estienne of Lyons, with the home-bred Wechel, prided themselves on nourishing and supporting men of letters.

monastery. Among these were the two Venetians Ciotto and Bertano, who afterwards gave evidence at the trial. According to the deposition of Bertano (Doc. vii.), the Prior of the Carmelites of Frankfort declared Bruno to be a man "of fine intellect and of great knowledge, but of no religion whatever, so far as he knew," adding that Bruno had said he possessed more learning than the Apostles, and that he had "the power, if he pleased, to make the whole world of one religion." He was described as "busied with writing for the most part all day long, or in going to and fro, indulging in subtle inquiries, wrapt in thought, and filled with fantastic meditations upon new things." He was also said to have held "heretical conferences" with heretic doctors upon the Lullian art of memory.

We have thus a fair picture of this period in Bruno's life. Among the friars he enjoyed complete liberty; cheered, in the words of Milton, by the thought that by "labour and intent study (which he took to be his portion in this life), joined with the strong propensity of Nature, he might perhaps leave something so written to after times as they should not willingly let it die." Such hours as were not devoted to writing, to correcting for the press, or cutting explanatory figures in wood, were given to conferences with pupils, and to philosophic and literary discussions in the booksellers' shops, then the centre of literary progress. In Frankfort, as in London, he found expression for his profoundest thought.

Early in 1591 four Latin works, on the *Threefold Minimum*, on the *Monad*, on *Immensity*, and on the *Composition of Images, Signs, and Ideas*, went to press, and attest this period of literary activity.

In these works Bruno advocates that metaphysical meditation which perceives in the all-penetrating spirit of the universe the last and supreme unity of the sum of souls, which, according to their particular disposition, do,

by mutual separation or combination, represent the soul of the world, as by a like separation or combination corporal atoms or monads represent the life or body of the universe. Each monad exists by itself; in each monad the universe is reflected; in each is its own centre; and thus there are as many centres of the universe as there are worlds, stars, living creatures, and living hearts, and these are in number infinite. Finally, the thinker will discover that the soul, the life penetrating all monads, that moving primitive power which animates all monads in ascending and descending gradation, is no other than the substance of substances, the monad of monads, God (*De Trip. Min.* p. 85).

Bruno's view of metaphysic truth and its application to the new doctrines of science appears in the Italian books printed by Vautrollier in London, and in the Latin series printed by Wechel. While writing Italian, Bruno's style may be called clear and simple, even when dealing with abstract ideas; but in Latin, he gave the reins to his poetic fancy, using Italian forms, and too often violating the rules of verse. Abstract ideas, in themselves hard to grasp, are disguised in Latin hexameters; and these, added to the abundance of poetic images and allegoric figures crowding upon his mind, create considerable confusion and obscurity. Still these works are said by Professor Carrière to contain the philosopher's best and ripest thought. "The great doctrine of Copernicus," he writes (*Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 20, 1868) "released him from the thralldom of tradition; he had cast off the bonds by which the world of thought was enslaved, and his glance pierced even to infinity. He was the first of the philosophers to perceive the necessary result of this teaching, and it was this which drew upon him the scorn of Scioppius, scorn which in truth is now returned tenfold to its author. In these works God is displayed in the universe, a conscious, real, ruling existence." "Although," says Brunnhofer, "investigators of to-day may smile at

certain of Bruno's theories, yet there is an enduring charm in these extraordinary poems; for the unity of the universe, the interrelations of the life of the earth and the stars, and the close connection in the processes of the mind and body, never found an exponent so poetic and so intellectually gifted as Bruno. Towards the close of his work the poet-philosopher is borne aloft on a flight of inspired verse, dictated by the enchanting beauty of the universe and the sublime order of its laws."

In contrast to this criticism it should be remembered that certain of Bruno's biographers find his Latin poems especially dull, unintelligible, and obscure. "For getting a strong impression that a skein is tangled," says George Eliot, "there is nothing like snatching hastily at a single thread;" and perhaps none of Bruno's works demand more patience in unravelling than the three books printed in Frankfort. It is to the patient and affectionate care of Bartholmèss that we owe their revival from the dust of three centuries. He speaks frankly of Bruno's treatment, of his shocking disdain for the rules of prosody, of the haste and negligence of the composition, of numberless faults in taste; he even repeats the criticism of Brucker, "more obscure than night," and of Heumann, "a theatre of fantastic shadows," with the addition, "he has four times more imagination than good sense." The subject, however, of the sequence of Latin didactic poems is plain, and it is plainly stated by the author. Bruno approaches truth, the subject of speculation, the vast and eternal object of all science, under three separate terms or titles, *On the Threefold Minimum and Measure*; *On the Monad, Number, and Figure*; and *On the Innumerable, the Immense, and the Unfigurable*.

Bruno's aim in the works of this series is to show that mathematics, and indeed all the sciences, have for their basis the Minimum or the point, the Monad or

unity. It is in the first instance essential to understand that by the Minimum or Monad, as by spiritual substance, the philosopher defines a force, not a body; and these terms are used by him the one for the other, as where he says (and here Leibnitz follows him) that God is the Minimum or Monad above all things (*De Min.*, p. 10).

Science proceeds from the Minimum, which is immeasurable and indivisible, because it is small, to bodies capable of measure and division; and from these to the immensity of the universe, which, by reason of its greatness, is immeasurable, without number, and without figure. Thus we have the infinitely little on the one hand and the infinitely great on the other, and between these extremes there are finite comparative gradations, each of which tends towards the infinite, either by small and slender qualities or by immensity; such are the three degrees of Bruno's encyclopædic ladder, which, he says, "are revealed by Nature; they are contemplated by the reason, and they are upheld by God in all things."

Thus "the unity of the republics of the world is declared to us, of that boundless monarchy which is swayed by the Infinite Prince and Ruler. . . . Neither sense, nor words, nor things, neither that which is compounded, nor abstract, nor simple, nor that which is physical, nor that which is mathematical, nor that which is divine, nor bodies, shadows, and souls; not one of these is incomprehensible to him who possesses a just appreciation of littleness, greatness, and immensity. For these three terms comprehend the three modes in which being makes itself manifest, that being which, under all form and in every degree of existence, is one and the same, the very substance of things, for ever immutable in reality, yet in appearance for ever subject to the inconceivable variety of change" (Preface to the *Monad*). "The Monad is not extreme littleness alone. It is the germ of grandeur;

it is the point, the atom, unity, a minimum of force, the invisible foundation of things visible, of matter and spirit, and of the Maximum (*Ibid.*)

The Monad is the Maximum reduced to its primary condition, and the Maximum is the Monad amplified to infinity. The one touches and resembles the other, as the drop of water touches and resembles the ocean. The one encloses and produces the other; the one is the beginning and the end of the other. Without the Monad there could be no Maximum, and nothing could exist. So the Monad is the point of departure and basis of physics and mathematics. Not the forces and elements only, but space and dimension testify the existence of a Monad, a physical and mathematic unity, in essence metaphysical and divine (*De Min.*, p. 16). The Unity of unities, the Monad of monads, the Being of beings, is the Minimum (p. 109).

By the grace of this Supreme Being, all things are one and all things have their being. If God, the *Optimus Maximus*, is the *Minimum*, he is the *Maximum* also; or rather *he is not the one and he is not the other*, for in him all is unity. He, who is all possibility, is neither great nor small, nor simple, nor multifold; in him all things are comprehended, with all spaces and dimensions. But inasmuch as the Divinity is the substance of substances, the being of beings, the cause and condition of all things, he may be distinguished by us as the Minimum or Monad (*De Min.*, p. 10).

With this wide signification of the term Bruno attributes to it a vast number of effects. As the veritable point, the Minimum is not only the unique principle of the line, of the surface, and of the body; it is a living point; it is the radical molecule of the body, the formative principle of body and soul alike. (This teaching is directly derived from Cusa and Plotinus, as will be seen by a reference to Ueberweg (*History of Philosophy*, vol. ii. p. 23.) “And since the Minimum is comparable to

the point, it is above all things (*De Min.*, B. i. c. 2) comparable to the point which generates the circle, to the centre. The circle, the sphere, is an expanded centre, and the centre is no other than a closed circle; and these two forms and motions manifest the identity of the power and the act, of possibility and reality."

The first book, after proving the existence of the Minimum, declares that all things are circular in their motion, which is practically the same as the doctrine of the *Cause* that the centre of the universe is everywhere and its circumference nowhere. The reader is furthermore expressly warned never to confound the Minimum, as it is apparent to the senses, with the simple absolute Minimum (B. i. c. 9).

A great part of the second book is occupied with the circle. We are once more emphatically told that the true circle is not more apparent to the senses than the point. The smallest is the substance of all things and of infinite greatness. Where the Minimum is not, there is nothing; it bestows existence on things, for without it there is neither number nor species. Annihilate the Minimum, and the greatest is annihilated also; for the Minimum determines the basis of increase and decrease, and thus of all formation.

(This was the view of Aristotle, who said, "The nature of everything is best seen in its smallest portions;" and Lord Bacon, in his *Natural History* (Exp. 98), writes as follows: "The knowledge of man hitherto hath been determined by the view or sight, so that whatsoever is invisible, either in respect of the fineness of the body itself, or the smallness of the parts, or of the subtlety of the motion, is little required. And yet these be things that govern Nature principally.")

The Minimum is chosen for the object of contemplation because it is easier for the reason to grasp a small object than one that is immeasurable. The Minimum has no parts, for there is nothing smaller than the smallest;

yet in itself it is great, because it is the basis of all greatness. It is not in its essence determinable by the comprehension, for it is one, indissoluble, impenetrable, incomposite, and not subject to composition; but by joining itself to its like, the compounded material world is originated. Although the Minimum in itself is but one (p. 62), it is infinitely varied in its manifestations. Matter is incapable of producing two figures or two lines precisely alike¹ (c. 5). All created things are unceasing in their motion; all things move, as the waves of the sea move; and, like the sea, all things submit to the regular alternations of ebb and flow (p. 69-70). Through this universal mutability, intelligent substance preserves its permanence and identity (p. 70-73).

"They are fools who dread the menace of death and of destiny, for all things in the stream of Time are subject to change and are unconquered by it; and this thy body, neither as a whole nor in its parts, is identical with yesterday. The substance of the limbs passes away and is renewed, and yet the unchangeable essence dwells within the heart amid the changes and chances of life."

"The Minimum has no body. It is indivisible by any force of Nature. Lightning cannot devour it, nor flame consume it, for it is indestructible, like the elements of the body, among which it dwells at peace. It is the indivisible, unchanging essence, dwelling in separable unchanging parts." "Order and place, and the use of the parts, change constantly, but the Minimum, the indivisible essence, is tranquil and immutable." "The Minimum is the veritable essence and basis of things,

¹ It is a doctrine of the philosophy of Leibnitz that two things cannot be exactly uniform (*Nouveaux Essais*, Avant propos). He then proceeds to tell a story. In the garden of the Electress Sophia at Herrenhausen, a gentleman thought he could find two leaves alike at all

points, but after much time spent in searching the garden, was forced to own he was beaten. It is not possible, Leibnitz adds, to find two drops of water or milk which are exactly the same when seen through the microscope.

not composed, but composing." "Life is the expansion or unfolding of the centre. The Minimum is the source of life and growth, until the time is fulfilled when the spirit retreats to its centre, and thence to the world of the infinite. This we call death, because the light after which we strive is covered; but some there are who know this life in the under-world¹ is death, and dying the awakening of true life. Yet do not all men ascend from the prison of the body; for, succumbing to that solidity and compounded mass, and devoid of divine flame, they are cast into the dungeon of darker abysses."

"Thus the spirit, in obedience to unseen law, clothes itself with the atoms, shaping for itself limbs as for the prison-house of death. The spirit pours itself forth into the whole of the body, until it withdraws from the web of its weaving and from the slumbering substance into the core of the heart, and passes out into the incorporeal air."

"The distinctive character of the soul is unity, indivisibility, and their sequence, incorruptibility; and this prerogative is from God himself, the Soul of souls" (p. 74). "For plurality is in unity, and number is in the Monad, and infinite extension is in the point; and substance, which is the foundation and basis of the body, changes its form, but does not cease to exist; how much less, therefore, shall the soul be subject to mortality?" (Book i. chap. 3).

The third book aims at establishing a sound method for deducing all science from a small number of self-evident truths, of which the following is one: "All greatness proceeds from the Minimum, and is resolved into the Minimum."

(The identity existing in various phases of the Monad is designed as indifferentism in the school of Schelling,

¹ "This earthly load
Of death called life, which us from life doth sever."—MILTON.

by which Schelling desired to show that object and subject, nature and spirit, the real and the ideal, are identical in the Absolute. The original indifferentiated unity or indifference is said to pass into the popular opposites of positive or ideal, and negative or real, being. The negative or real pole is Nature. The positive or ideal pole is spirit. Bruno's doctrines upon the Coincidence of Oppositions and the spiritual character of matter reappear in this phase of Schelling's philosophy.)

The fourth book describes the manner in which the Monad is developed and multiplied. Part of the last dialogue of the *Cause* (W. i. 288) is occupied with somewhat similar reasoning. The fundamental harmony (*De Min.*, 132) of things is displayed in geometry; for the line, the triangle, and the circle are one in the eyes of him who is able to grasp the coincidence of dimensions, or the inner virtues of the point.

The fifth book treats of measure, and the last chapter is full of allusions to the art of Lully. Bartholmèss, who does full justice to the thought, ingenuity, and brilliant learning displayed in this poem, does not pass over its incongruous sallies of wit, and its ponderous allegorical interpretations; but he is careful to call attention to the passages in which Bruno recommends moderate doubt to lovers of philosophy (B. i. c. 2), whom he exhorts to walk with sure and well-ordered steps (B. i. c. 4); to clear the ground of all prejudice before seeking to raise the temple of Truth; to determine the relation of the senses to the understanding and the reason (p. 20); and to establish the fact that the senses do not deceive him who is careful to limit them to the objects with which they correspond (B. i. c. 2).¹

¹ "The sight does not deceive us; none of the senses deceive. The eye does not possess the innate faculty of appreciating the relative position of bodies in space, and,

consequently a false appreciation of any position proceeds not from the eye, but from the mind."—*Alfred Binet: La Rectification des Illusions per l'appel aux Sens.*

In conclusion, Bruno strives to demonstrate that the soul is the animating principle, not only of the spiritual substance, but of the body, and that it is in some sort the very architect and central point of the body (p. 13); and, finally, he proclaims in impassioned language the inefaceable character of the soul, its absolute simplicity, its indestructible substantiality, its immateriality, and, as a consequence, its personal immortality. The formative power of the soul and its general pre-eminence is the leading characteristic of this work. Man's place in life is between the divine and the earthly; he is a link between the ideal and the real; sharing in both and uniting in himself two natures. He is eternal, and in his wandering through space he receives all forms. He is wondrously devised, and being divine, he passes into God, overcoming all things that he may be in God and with him, and striving after the infinite because God is infinite, immeasurable, and everywhere. The soul is an individual, a thinking monad, the rule and shape of the body. We are what we are by means of the invisible substance of the soul; for constant attraction, reception, and ejection of the atoms occurs round an active all-present centre.

In birth and generation the controlling spirit expands from its centre, the heart, to the outermost portals of sense; and in death the spirit contracts, departing by the same way and by the same gate of entrance. Thus birth is extension of the centre; life is a constituent part of the sphere; death is contraction into the centre. "And herein is proof of the immortality of the soul; for the power and essence, the principle and member of harmony, which wondrously builds up the body, orders it and gives it animation—this can be no lower in dignity nor meaner in its destination than the body, the substance of which we know to be eternal and imperishable, even when reduced to dust or cast into the deep of the sea."

“And learn
That what of us was taken from the dust
Will surely one day to the dust return ;
And what the air has lent us, Heaven will bear
Away, and render back its own to air.”—LUCRETIVS.

These works, printed in Frankfort, consisting of a series, the first upon the *Minimum*, the second upon the *Monad*, and the third upon the *Innumerable, the Immense, and the Unfigurable*, are dedicated to Duke Henry Julius. Before Wagner collected and printed Bruno's Italian writings, this was his only known work on philosophy. In the seventeenth century it was looked upon as his most important achievement. Vogt says of the series, “This is the rarest of Bruno's rare books.” Zimmermann, a warm admirer of the Nolan, dedicated his book *Scriptura Sancta Copernicans* to Duke Rudolf Augustus of Brunswick, in the hope of persuading that prince to reprint the *Minimum* and its sequel. “It is,” Zimmermann wrote, “a wise and profound book, full of fire, faithful in depicting Nature, and formerly patronised by Duke Henry Julius of Brunswick.” It was the pious object of Zimmermann to show that the laws of Kepler and the theories of Copernicus were once under ducal patronage, and are at no time contrary to Scripture ; and Bruno is distinguished as one of the noblest and most steadfast disciples of the astronomer of Thorn.

Another Zimmermann (J. J.), in a book entitled *Dissertatio de Atheismo J. Bruno Nolano impacto*, remarks that Bruno's memory is wronged by those who look upon him as a heretic and an atheist. Readers with a sense of humour will be amused to find that Zimmermann defends Bruno¹ against a charge of *Spinozism*, which is as much as to say he was not affected by the ailments of posterity.

¹ This series of Bruno's works apparently served for the basis of the *Comic History of the States and Empires of the Sun and Moon*, by Cyrano de Bergerac, who has been shown to have borrowed his *Pedant* *Played Out* from the *Candle-Bearer*. It is, moreover, interesting to English readers to trace the influence of Bruno on Huyghens, of whose *Cosmotheoros* (1695) Newton spoke with admiration.

Many pages convey in verse passages from the books published in London, and Bruno appears to have desired that the *Minimum* should contain the quintessence of his doctrine. Berti considers the metrical form of this work a "grave impediment," and he pronounces the Frankfort works to be inferior to the Italian in many respects, "especially with regard to the order and precision of the expositions, and the vigour and efficacy of the dialectic connection." "Nevertheless," he adds, "the book is of exceptional value; and in places it surprises and startles the reader with its profound thought, with its wealth of imagery, and with the language and bearing of prophecy assumed by its author when announcing the renewing of science, policy, and religion on the terrestrial globe." The work is pronounced to be "a metaphysical and cosmological epopœia, intermingled with episodes in which he (Bruno) delineates his own character with singular precision and faithfulness;" and, piercing the grandiloquent style which Berti assumes as poets do their singing-robcs, it is pleasant to see a gleam of pity for the troubles of the philosopher. "Who does not gather the whole of Bruno's life," he continues, "from the following extract; his love of philosophy, his labours for it, the perils he overcame, the journeys undertaken by him, and the ends for which he strove?" "Many there be," the Nolan cries, "who desire Philosophy, but few there be who seek after her; and these few put off in their ships from the mother country, commit themselves to the waves, spread their sails, and very soon the little bark is in the midst of the sea, and full of fear lest the tempestuous wind should deliver it to the mercy of the ocean. Or they encounter and overcome other perils by land; mountains, rivers, and deserts present themselves, full of snares and ambuscades; and they are grievously perplexed, ill-lodged, or, worse still, they are overtaken by the night. Through dark valleys, over inaccessible mountains, they fly from inhospitable nations, and seek

shelter in the caves of wild animals. Returned to Italy, in a little while they set forth to seek a better fortune; they quit the Tiber, the Arno, and the Po; they pass the Alps, the Rhone, and the Garonne; they cross Navarre and the Pyrenees, and the superb waters of the Tagus; and behold them on the shores of ocean, beyond the pillars of Hercules, sailing towards nations whose day dawns to westward of us, and their setting sun is in our east; and this to attain the fountain of wisdom, understanding, and learning. Thus they lavish the inheritance of their forefathers and the flower of their age; they keep the watches of the night; they visit the monuments of antiquity to share the sacred poetic frenzy and to acquire the fame and splendour of the disciples of true wisdom."

Brunnhöfer, when giving a German version of this passage, points out that in places it is a literal translation from the *Expulsion* (W. ii. 193).

Fiorentino's¹ uncivil comments on the "distinguished Berti" (who first noted the passage) is in amusing contrast to the gravity of the other historians. "Bruno had no inheritance from his father; far from it! He did not cross the Pyrenees nor the Tagus, and therefore the passage does not apply to him; and to say otherwise is to place his character in a light which is sinister and contrary to all historical accuracy." "En quoi," says Rabelais, "cognoissez vous la folie anticque? En quoi cognoissez vous la sagesse presente?" And it may be broadly stated that few men write history in hexameters, while poetic license is a form of antique folly omitted in the studies of Signor Fiorentino.²

¹ *Jordani Bruni Nolani. Opera Latine Conscripita recensebat F. Fiorentino.* Naples, 1879. In the Italian preface, p. 38.

² Professor Sigwart, one of the most enlightened of Bruno's critics, promptly administers a correction to Fiorentino. "Why," says Sigwart (*Gottingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 5th and 12th Jan. 1881), "is there no order in Fiorentino's reprint?

Why is the numbering of the verses omitted? Why is the second part, *De Immenso*, printed before the first? Why are there semicolons for commas? Why are there seven errors in Latin in nineteen lines?" A continuation of this work, printed at Naples (1886), contains *De Ubris Idearum, Ars Memoriae, Cantus Circeus*.

The series is written in hexameters in the manner of Lucretius, interspered with prose notes and illustrations. "The first part aspires towards the truth; the second searches it out somewhat uncertainly; in the third the truth is found and declared. The first book is surpassing in understanding, the second in speech, the third in matter. The first discloses our innate qualities; the second, that which comes by hearing; the third, that which we obtain by discovery; and the whole represents truth, goodness, and beauty."

The second in the series, the *Monad*, is chiefly interesting to the historian of astronomy. It contains a quantity of astronomical, mythological, and astro-theological mottoes and verses, with illustrations in prose, discovering the state of the science in the interval between Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo.

A commentary on the doctrine of the Pythagoreans, it is composed of eleven chapters, explaining the secrets of numbers and figures, and their office in the scheme of creation. The powers and forms of Nature, and even those of the moral world, are arbitrarily forced into numerical tables, related to the Lullian encyclopædia. Thus two stands for the two souls of man, one which is animal, the other intellectual. Three represents the three perfections of God, Power, Wisdom, and Love, with the three principles of the Pythagoreans and Platonists, Unity, Truth, and Goodness. Four is an unlucky simile, for Bruno attributes to it great perfection, "because among all the learned nations the name of God is spelt in four letters." Nine is the natural symbol of wisdom, "wherefore the Latin poet recommends authors to preserve their writings in desks for nine years," and so forth. Who would divine that beneath this grotesque surface lie a number of true, beautiful, and powerful ideas, waiting, like seeds in the earth, to be released by favouring influences?

Of Tycho Brahe Bruno speaks in his expansive style

as "most noble, and the prince of the astronomers of his age" (p. 166). At the same time he advances his own claim to the discovery that the fixed stars have their proper motion, and that stars of the first magnitude are not necessarily fixed within equal distances of each other, coupling this with the assertion that ten years later Tycho Brahe announced the discovery as his own. But the point most striking in this work and its sequence, is the strength and tenacity with which Bruno strives to unite his conception of the Divine presence with the immensity of the universe, insisting continuously that so great a Being must possess a dwelling in consonance with his grandeur, a vast and immeasurable palace, which is the living universe; while the order and harmony of the starry skies, the even and apparently intelligent progress of the flaming orbs, bear witness that these are but ministers and heralds of the infinite and glorious presence of God.

Infinity, which is true and living, is before the eyes of man, shining like the sun, and, like the sun, too glorious for mortal gaze. From the nature of the Divinity, as the reason is compelled to conceive it, Bruno proceeds to argue the infinity of the universe; if God is eternal, if his years and his deeds are without end, then the stars are innumerable and the universe infinite (*De Inn.* 173). But Bartholmess points out with justice that reason can conceive God to be the source of repose, as well as the source of action, if we suppose, as we must, his will to be absolute in his independence.¹ The universe is immense

¹ It will be remembered that Bruno held free-will and necessity to be united in God in the following manner :—

God is all good; without goodness he is not God. His will is goodness; goodness is necessary to him; and thus his will and his necessity are one.

Our free-will and our necessity may be thus regarded. A mother who has studied the dispositions of

her children will be able to predict how under certain given circumstances each child will act. Their free-will is a necessity, because it is a result of their character. In the same manner, but in a far higher degree, God knows the hearts of men. To one who beholds the sources of character and springs of action a defined course is inevitable, as the farmer will predict the plant from the seed; and leaving on one

by the grace not only of the presence of God, but of his Will; and an infinity which is relative and conditional must be indefinite.

With Rabelais, who writes, "Let us not seek honour nor applause from men, but the truth only," Bruno, too, proclaims his only desire to be for the Truth, for the support of Nature, and the protection of God. Nevertheless, he is not altogether proof against the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, proved by his attacks upon *Presbyter* and *Grammaticus*.¹

side the inherited organisation which is said to be destiny, it is clear that God, in permitting to us the necessity of our will, gives us also the power to gain an inalienable experience, by means of which our identity is preserved.

The action is a necessary result of the character; character is built up out of action, and every action is the result of those other actions to which it succeeds. "The reward," says George Eliot, "of one duty performed is the power to perform another;" and in the same manner the punishment of one evil action is the proneness to commit another. It may be said that although in the knowledge of God our free-will is necessity, because he beholds all things, past, present, and to come, in one action, and the instant and eternity with him are one, yet the knowledge of God does not concern us, and in our knowledge our free-will can only be reconciled with our necessity when we strive to imitate God, in whom free-will and necessity are one state, and that state is goodness.

¹ Of the intolerant Hoffmann of Helmstedt Leibnitz remarked, that "he became the enemy of philosophy in his desire to reform the abuses of philosophers."

The pedant or grammarian is Bruno's favourite emblem of the ridiculous (see *De Trip. Min.*, v. 128-130, p. 5; *ibid.* v. 149-151, p. 6. "Pedantry," he says (W.

ii. 404), "never came nearer ruling the world than in these our times." Milman, in his *History of Latin Christianity*, compares the works of the Scholastics to the pyramids of Egypt—vast oppressive piles, which display immense human power wasted, great efforts which lead to nothing but darkness and perplexity. All was vanity, feeding the wind, folly. The works of the Scholastics would occupy a life of serious study; and we may say, with Lord Bacon, that "they end in monstrous alterations and barking questions, by means whereof men have withheld themselves too much from the contemplation of Nature and the observations of experience, and have tumbled up and down in their own conceits . . . This kind of degenerate learning did chiefly reign amongst the schoolmen, who having sharp and strong wits, and abundance of leisure and small variety of reading, but their wits being shut up in the cells of a few authors (chiefly Aristotle, their dictator), as their persons were shut up in the cells of monasteries and colleges, and knowing little history, either of Nature or Time, did out of no great quantity of matter and infinite agitations of wit spin out into us those laborious webs of learning which are extant in their books. . . . For the two ways of contemplation are not unlike the two ways of action commonly spoken of by the ancients. The one plain and smooth in the beginning, and

As in the Italian dialogues on *Infinity*, this work on *Immensity* is entirely occupied with the infinity of the universe. The globe which we inhabit is a planet, and therefore it does not constitute a world in itself. All planets, like the earth, must be filled with life, with plants and animals, and with beings endowed as we are with reason. The sun, round which the earth turns, is not the only sun; there are multitudes of suns, as there are myriads of planets. Of this splendid and majestic parade of stars and heavenly bodies the universe is made. All is filled with infinity, and beyond infinity there is nothing. In fine, since the universe exists and since it is immense, God is present in it. In him it lives and moves and has its being; for he is Being, eternal, infinite, one only, the Being of beings. If God is illimited Being, his palace is without limits also (p. 153).

"The destiny of man is made plain by the order and harmony of the universe, as well as by his own natural organisation."

in the end impassable; the other rough and troublesome in the entrance, but after a while fair and even. So it is in contemplation; if a man will begin with certainties, he shall end in doubts; but if he will be content to begin with doubts, he shall end in certainties."

The pedant who began with certainties ended, as a rule, in doubts. "Great scholars," says De Quincey, "were poor as thinkers." They could turn Latin into Greek out of hand, and without a lexicon, but though they could correct Cicero, they spoke their native tongue like peasants, and they read so much that, as Scaliger said of Marcilius, "he read himself into ignorance." Scioppius, when writing of the vices which infect the art of grammar, says, with his usual love of vileness, that Crates, who first studied the art, was induced to do so by falling into a sewer, and that grammar preserved for ever the taint of its

origin. That web of subtlety and Spinozity, the Scholastic theology, however, had its uses. As it was the work of the fifteenth century to rediscover antiquity, so it was the work of the sixteenth century to decipher antiquity. Cicero and Virgil, Livy and Ovid, so long shelved in dark corners, were now studied by scholars who, if they wrangled over words, did so with authority, since they were better acquainted with dead languages than with their own. Indeed, the Middle Ages countenanced no science but theology. Even the classics were believed by the people to be written by the monks, who, for their part, made light of the distinction; for it was their custom, when signifying a wish for Virgil or Horace, or any other heathen work, while under the discipline of silence, to scratch their ears like a dog, because dogs and Pagans were associations familiar and agreeable to the mind.

“Every being, by virtue of his organisation, aspires towards the end of his existence. The more noble a nature, the more active his striving after good. Thus it is with man. Man, in truth, is of all creatures the only one destined to a double perfection, that of the soul and body. Man is placed upon the limits of time and eternity, between perfection and its faint imperfect image, between reason and sense. He shares in this existence, he passes from extreme to extreme, upright on the verge and horizon of Nature.

— “His true destiny is perfection of spirit. His spirit indeed is an indivisible, independent, divine thing, lord of matter, not its vassal; living by its own virtue, entire and invulnerable in all parts, endowed with inexhaustible force, invested with the power of beholding eternal truth, always acting and having power to overcome outer things and itself. The body is contrary to the spirit. It is finite, limited, subject; in itself nothing save a means and an instrument. . . . Now, what in life is the due calling of the spirit? This is evident: to seize supreme truth by means of the reason, and to practise sovereign good by means of the will. This vocation of man is proved by his insatiate untiring reason and will. The spirit no sooner perceives goodness or light than its desires and investigations awake; for the instinct of perfection is born within us; we cannot endure that which is divided, fleeting, in part imperfect; we look for all things to be full, lasting, universal, and necessary.

— “Even our senses, with our imagination, have an illimitable domain; howsoever directed, they discover a centre, but they can attain to no circumference. The need of infinite perfection by which we are possessed is not in vain; it is no caprice nor superfluity of thought; it is real and lasting, the most noble and the most lawful of our desires. The whole creation, in all its splendour, offers us satisfaction. Since, then, it is the high calling of man to comprehend the universe, let him raise his

eyes and his thoughts to the heavens which surround him, and the flying worlds above. They are a picture, a book, a mirror, wherein he can behold and read the forms and the laws of supreme goodness, the plan and total of perfection. There is ineffable harmony, and beyond the stars is the height from which he shall behold all the generations of men and all the ages of the earth. Let him be without fear, for he that thirsts after immensity shall take no thought for the present, nor for the things of this world. Let no vain scruple withhold him from wondering without ceasing at the glory of the Divinity and the august dwelling of the Most High. To consider the stars in their sublime array, still choiring the glory of their Lord, is the most worthy occupation of man. The persuasion that there is indeed a Sovereign, the Upholder, rejoices the soul of the sage, and causes him to despise the fan of vulgar souls, which is death" (B. i. c. i.)

Two obstacles are declared by Bruno to encumber true philosophy: the first is the preference given to the senses and to appearances, instead of to the understanding and to reality; the second is the precedence given to sects rather than to disinterested love of virtue. The sectarian spirit is the root of all evil. "When science is made traffic, wisdom and justice shall quit the earth. Of all miserable men, they are the most miserable who practise philosophy to gain their daily bread, . . . and he is richest who despises riches" (155). Of the errors of the senses he says, "While insisting that we are deceived by our judgment and not by our perception, you invoke the law of the senses, I appeal to the law of nature, which cannot be other than the law of reason. . . . When we go up into a high place and look around us, do we not imagine the earth is bounded by the sky? As we advance towards that boundary it withdraws, and beholding a new extent of heaven and earth, we are forced to extend the horizon, and it would extend to infinity if we were but able to follow it." "It is not the senses," Bruno con-

tinues, "which deceive us; they confirm reason." This argument repeats a passage in the beginning of the *Infinity* (W. ii. 18). "The vale," says Lord Bacon, "best discovereth the hill;" and our senses deceive us, not because they are deceitful, but because we misapply them.

We have next a curious passage on the movement of the earth. Movement is at one and the same time the sign and result of life; and since the earth moves, it lives,¹ and its life is in its soul, which reposes in God, as our souls do.

"Since the universe is infinite, it is unreasonable to imagine that beyond the universe there is space as infinite as the universe itself, or a heaven into which God withdrew himself after his creation of the world" (B.i.c.6).

(It will be remembered that in the *Infinity*, God, having ceased from his labours, is compared to a fiddler who might play, but did not for want of a fiddle. But it is clear that God, having supreme liberty, might either create or cease creating, and to say otherwise is to limit his illimitable power.)

"What, then, is space? Is it immovable or is it superficial? No. Space is a continuous physical quan-

¹ It is a curious fact that modern science is now approaching many theories which in the age of Bruno were regarded as wild and visionary. As a fact, the earth, like a living body, is in a state of constant movement. Our globe is solid nowhere. An earthquake, according to the recent investigations of Mr. Robert Mallet, of Mr. Milne, professor of engineering at Tokio, Japan, and of the latest Italian inquirers, is but a variety, gigantic in its proportions, of a process always in operation, and part of the regular machinery for the action of Nature. The earth is perpetually breathing and sighing throughout its entire frame. There is, moreover, a larger volume in the form of oscillations. The firm mountains and rocks are in truth a quivering mass. No doubt, because the world is thus sensitive

it is the more fitted to support the innumerable dependents on its bounty; for the tide of microscopic earthquakes, and the oscillations beneath which great expanses of the earth's wrapping or crust are ascertained to dilate and contract, are signs that Nature is not dead or torpid, and are modes in which it performs its infinite functions. The laws which laid out the earth are active still; the earth's action is benevolent and potent in the fine pulsations which only the most delicate instrument can record, and in the terrible and convulsive shiverings which scar the surface of continents. And since in a mild degree these phenomena are present within the most temperate regions, Nature, though most multifarious in its energy, shows itself to be the more uniform at heart.

tity, constituted of three dimensions, capable of receiving all magnitudes and bodies, existing before and after all things. It is not a substance nor a property; it is with, before, and after all things" (B. i. c. 8; *ib.* c. 9). (This definition approaches that of Newton and of Clarke, who consider space an attribute of God.) "Space," Bruno continues (c. 9), "cannot be told from space. Our senses are overwhelmed and stricken dumb in all places. If there is an eternal power, its action is entire and unbroken. If being is goodness, not-being is evil, and it follows that if there is no other world than ours, goodness is finite and solitary, while evil is infinite and multiplied. God being the most simple essence, possibility and reality in him are one; and since with God all things are possible, the universe is infinite." This reasoning can, however, be met with the reply that since with God all things are possible, it might have pleased the Everlasting to set bounds to the universe. Why place power higher than supreme liberty and independence, which are also divine attributes? Moreover, they are the loftiest aims of man. He enjoys them in a finite measure, but why conceive of a God who does not enjoy them in infinite measure?

The thirteen chapters of the second book are in the same strain. "Our senses show us that there are imperfections in the universe, but the universe embraces the infinity of space and time, while our senses show us these in part. Doubtless no part is perfect and complete, and the whole is divine" (*De Immenso*, p. 11).

"The universe may be at one and the same time finite and infinite: infinite with regard to the capacity of the human soul, and finite with regard to the Divine power. It is infinite because it is the effect of an infinite cause; it is finite because it is an effect distinct from its cause. It is infinite so long as the Infinite Being wills; it is finite because it depends on the Infinite Being, who may will it to cease and to dissolve, with its uses, fabric, and dominion."

In Books iii. and iv. the ground is changed and another reform is advocated.

The tyranny of Aristotle, the routine of antiquity, provoked Bruno's anger, and in the face of so many vast problems he pauses to attack the king and oracle of the schools. "It is better," he cries with an ironical application of the words of Cicero, *Malo eum Platone errare quam eum aliis recte sentire*—"It is better to err with Aristotle than to follow knowledge with another;" concluding, "The earth and the planets move round the sun once a year." (Between the year of Neptune, the outermost planet, and our own year, there is a difference of nearly sixty thousand days or 163.6 years.) "The earth is not a perfect sphere" (B. iv. c. 17). "The moon has spots; these spots indicate the continents, and the luminous parts the sea. The sun must contain living beings of whom the nature is unknown to us, but in all likelihood they are superior to the inhabitants of the earth" (379). (Huygens, who defines the figure, manners, and learning of the people of the stars, declares the sun to be uninhabitable.)

The remarkable theory of the *Cabal* is repeated in Book v.

In the *Monad* (c. iv.) Bruno speaks of the spirit as "a medium establishing communication between the soul and the body;" he accords to this spiritual principle the title of "architect of the body;" and in this place he attributes a like principle to the earth (see W. i. 242), a vital spark which is a spirit of motion. That which lives, moves; and all moving things have life. "All things live; the celestial bodies are animated beings; all things on the face of the earth and things under the earth have, in a certain measure and according to their state, the gift of feeling; the stone itself feels in a fashion which escapes the definition of man."

A passage from the *Cause* (W. i. 242) will serve to explain this point.

"If, therefore, spirit, soul, life, are found in all things, in ordained degrees filling the whole of matter, the spirit is clearly the true actuality and the true form of all things. Therefore the soul of the world is the constituting formal principle of the universe, and of that contained in the universe. I say, that if life is found in all things, the soul is the form of all things, for it is throughout the ruler and governor of matter, and it governs compound things, producing composition and consistency in the parts. . . . This I look upon as the unity of all things; for, according to the diversity of the dispositions of matter, and according to the power of the active and passive principles in matter, this (unity) produces diverse figurations and faculties.

"The outward form alone changes and perishes, because it is not a thing, but of a thing; it is not substance, but the accident and circumstance of substance."¹

Parts of this work are devoted to the theory of

¹ The views of Bruno (more especially as they are expressed in the works printed at Frankfort) will be found to coincide in a remarkable manner with what is said by Herbert Spencer on function. "Does life produce organisation?" he asks (*Principles of Biology*, vol. i. p. 152), "or does organisation produce life?" And after alluding to the obscurity in which these problems are wrapt, he says, "There is one fact implying that function must be regarded as taking precedence of structure;" and proceeds to draw the following conclusions, "to be accepted for as much as they seem worth:"—"But since the passing from a structureless state to a structured state is itself a vital process, it follows that vital activity must have existed while there was yet no structure; structure could not else arise. That function takes precedence of structure seems also implied in the definition of life. If life consists of inner actions so adjusted as to balance outer actions, if the actions

are the *substance* of life, while the adjustment of them constitutes its *form*, then may we say that *the actions to be formed must come before that which forms them*—that the continuous change which is the basis of function must come before the structure which brings function into shape.

"Or, again, since throughout all phases of life up to the highest, every advance is the effecting of some better adjustment of inner to outer actions, and since the accompanying new complexity of structure is simply a means of making possible this better adjustment, *it follows that function is from beginning to end the determining cause of structure.*"

That relation of the atoms to each other, on which existence depends, has been called "*the expression of the arrangement of the atoms, which is force*;" and as an "*expression of arrangement*" necessarily has precedence over the matter arranged, so function may be thought of as the predecessor of structure.

comets. (*De Max.* B. i. iv. vi.) Bruno had collected a number of observations upon the "great star" which appeared suddenly in November 1572 in Cassiopeia, and as suddenly vanished in the month of April 1574; and he asserts that the researches of Tycho Brahe have led him to the conclusion that comets are not fiery meteors, but celestial bodies, whose motion across the plains of air is positive proof that neither the earth nor the stars are enclosed within a solid crystal sphere. The comet is a planet, but it is to be distinguished from ordinary planets. Its appearance is more rare, and it is visible to us only at certain periods of its passage round the sun. The appearance of the tail is a mere accident; our earth, it is possible, may sometimes appear with a train of fire, and if there were a comet without a tail, it would be equally one in substance with those planets which are always within our knowledge. The existence of the comet, moreover, proves that celestial bodies are not compounded of an essence entirely foreign to our elements. The uniformity and exactitude of their motion, their invariability of mass and constitution, their pure and silvery splendour, the duration of their stay, the regularity with which they return to visit the earth, and the steadiness with which they wax and wane, force the conclusion upon us that "comets are in truth stars." Bruno even goes so far as to declare that there may be planets which we have never seen (CLX. Articles).

τ "Truth," he says (Gfr. 495), "can never be contrary to truth, nor light to light." Again, "Behold how one truth reveals another" (W. i. 187). "The gifts of faith cannot oppose the light of reason" (Gfr. 495). "God, who cannot deceive nor be deceived, who is not jealous, but who is supreme goodness, and who is truth itself and bounty itself, is the God of the philosopher and of the theologian. In course of their development, religion and philosophy differ, philosophy, obeying reason, seeks for evidence; theology, guided by faith, silently awaits the

voice of revelation. The philosopher awaits the voice of Nature, which is in truth the voice of God, who is the author of Nature" (Gfr. 495). As with revealed religion, philosophy takes its stand upon indubitable principles, which are self-evident, and which give certainty to the operations of science. And the philosopher, though cherishing his natural perception of truth, is eager to follow the traditions of religion. Because he loves to trace the infinite within all finite things, he studies sacred books, and he learns the myths, prayers, and hymns inspired by piety among many races of men (W. ii. 308, 113, 9, 254; Gfr. 175). Never forgetful of these numerous sources of instruction and edification, he does not presume to cite the Eternal before his tribunal, but he submits the results of all things to the examination of his reason. He approaches dogmas and doctrines on their natural and human side, leaving that which is supernatural and miraculous to the theologians. "Truth is one, as God is one; but it can be approached by two ways, either by thought or by feeling. Let theology then leave to philosophy the kingdoms of this world, and be contented with the empire of faith, and with the divine grace which is beyond the order of Nature and above the calamities of our present state of being."

The third of these works, and the last which Bruno was enabled to print, is entitled *Of the Composition of Images, Signs, and Ideas*.¹ The dedicatory epistle celebrates the power of the grand art in philosophy, and especially in enlarging the sphere of the perception. The whole of the work of God, of reason, and of Nature, Bruno declares to consist in the idea and our conception of the idea. Nature, in a manner that is highly admirable, reflects the mind of God, and is in its turn reflected

¹ "This book," writes Berti (236), "would be reckoned among the Nolan's masterpieces if the last pages had been equal to the first, which are full of profound thought, expressed in pointed and brilliant language. Unfortunately the magnificent peristyle is but the screen for a mean edifice on the model of Lully."

in the mind of man. These processes are related. Both in Nature and in man there are certain elements, and by arranging, combining, moving, subjoining those elements fresh forms are produced. But simplicity, self-continuance, and unity are not in man, and they are not in Nature. Things exist, as we perceive them, in combination, comparison, and plurality; we understand nothing if we do not at the same time contemplate a form or figure; and the singleness of cause and principle we behold, as it were, in a glass darkly. Nature holds the mirror up to us (and we in our turn hold the mirror up to Nature); and by the light of reason and the rules of the great art we shall behold the figures in this vast mirror shining clearly, and pointing, as on a dial, to Unity, which is the sum and substance of all. Thus the spirit of man will ascend to the highest truth and happiness; and the object of this treatise is to equip the student for the just conception of the signs and symbols of Unity in himself and in Nature.

↑ Ideas precede things, because they are the causes of things; the marks of the ideas are the things themselves or in the things; the shadows of ideas are from the things or after the things. In proportion as the things of Nature are more perfect than those shadows of ideas which are in our conception and understanding, so the original idea is more perfect than Nature.

Bruno's inquiry in this work does not concern things in themselves, but their marks or signs. As a bank-note passes current for five sovereigns, so our idea of a rose passes current for a rose, though we are acquainted only with the outer form and semblance of a rose, and we are in gross ignorance of its true being, that exquisite quintessence and ethereal spirit, that wild, luxuriant, and humble sweetness which circles under its tinted petals and fills the air with springs of beauty. Its delicacy and loveliness escape expression; for every form in Nature which is discernible to the understanding, no matter how

it is deciphered, must be placed upon the intellectual horizon—that is, it must be figurative.

These images may be discerned and considered from a physical, mathematical, or logical aspect. Therefore Bruno assumes that a just contemplation of Nature will display the forms of things to the thinker; for matter does not contribute so much to the production of things of Nature as idea and form. In the idea and principle all things meet, and they represent Unity.

In man the understanding and memory correspond with idea and form. Nature is a shadow, for Nature is a type and mark of the Divine, a living mirror, in which we behold pictures¹ of natural things, and the shadow of Divinity. Nature contains the idea (form) as its cause and principle. In the same manner the representation of the object is the basis of understanding in the artist, and determines his work. But in Nature the idea is in truth the substance; for the idea is in matter, producing countless forms in eternal vicissitude. Here, to guard against misconception, Bruno immediately defines Form under twelve aspects, the first of which is the Idea, the metaphysical principle, form in general, "*the basis of which is above Nature.*"

Next comes a peculiar and poetic treatment of the theory of light. Light in general is an invisible substance, diffused throughout infinity; it is the vehicle of pictures, inherent to all parts of the universe, and by a

¹ "There are many ideas," says Buhle, "in this work which might be useful to artists, if they could be induced to search for material in books." The book, an improved and enlarged recapitulation of the *Shadows of Ideas*, is dedicated to J. H. Hainzel, a member of a distinguished Protestant family at Augsburg. His father fostered artistic and literary merit, and his uncle, Paul Hainzel, constructed a large astronomical quadrant under the direction of Tycho Brahe. The patron of Bruno's book, after a misunderstanding with

the Town Council of Augsburg on the reform of the calendar, threw up his rights as a citizen and went to Ulm, where he composed a pasquinade on his brother councillors, which so exasperated them, that, having with great want of circumspection re-entered their precincts, he was seized and imprisoned. He escaped, and after spending a short time in Zurich, he bought a property at Haldenstein near Chur, and afterwards the estate of Elgg or Elgau in Zurich. Here his acquaintance was probably made by Bruno.

constant connection and mingling of this substance with the darkness it is turned into light.

The same comparison holds good in supernatural things. God, who is the primal light, must first mingle with the darkness and shadow of material things before he can be discerned by our eyes. Our method is faulty if we confound pure and simple light with compounded perceptible light, such as sunlight. Not our soul alone, but the soul of the world also is gifted with pure spiritual light, and it is the foundation of that faculty of the mind by which we see in waking or in dreams figures which are absent, and this without the help of sunlight or any common fire. By this power man is enabled not only to call up the visible world in the recesses of his spirit, but by means of comparison and combination to raise a countless multitude of appearances and to walk like a new Adam in a world of new creation. This faculty is the source of pictures. If we withhold from it the name of light, we may call it the sense of the senses or spirit of the fancy. It seizes forms, links them together, draws new inferences, and stores them in the memory. With Locke, Bruno looks upon the memory as the storehouse of ideas (*horreum specierum*), the keys, the door-keeper, and door of which is the Will.

"As the forms of Nature cannot objectively exist without matter and a certain subject (for all compounded bodies require matter, size, and space), in the same manner the representations of the senses and the mind require a real or represented subject, and the compounded, real, or imagined representations cannot exist without place and limitations." According to Kant, space is not a form of the existence of objects in themselves. Only from the point of view of human beings can we speak of space, extended beings, &c. If we make abstraction of the subjective condition, under which alone external intuition is possible for us, *i.e.*, under which alone we can be affected by external objects, the idea of space has absolutely no

signification. Space is real, *i.e.*, is an objectively valid conception in respect of everything which can be presented to us as an object of external perception, but it is ideal in respect of things when they are considered by the reason as they are in themselves, and without reference to the sensible nature of man.

By an altogether analogous metaphysical and transcendental exposition of the conception of time, Kant seeks also to demonstrate its empirical reality and transcendental ideality. Like space, time is not a thing subsisting for itself, or so inherent as an objective qualification or order in things that if abstraction were made of all subjective conditions of perception time would remain. Time is in itself, out of the conscious subject, nothing; it cannot be reckoned among objects in themselves, apart from its relation to our sensible intuitions, either as subsisting or as inhering. To the objection that the reality of the change in our ideas proves the reality of time, Kant replies that the objects of the "internal sense," like those of the external sense, are only phenomena having two aspects, the one regarding the object in itself, the other the form of our intuition (perception) of the object, which form must not be sought in the object in itself, but in the subject to which it appears.

But this analogy in thought stops short in its highest aspect. With Bruno, man is a mirror within a mirror; and his perception of things is a reflection of Nature, which is the reflection of the thought of God. In the words of Bruno, "The act of the divine cognition is the substance of things."

Kant, on the other hand, while recognising the unreality of the real and fully acknowledging the reality of the ideal, is divided from the pure idealism of Bruno, and does not go beyond the thought that form and matter, idea and appearance, are one. He does not grasp the masterly conception that form and idea are the only truths, and that appearance and matter are finite and

changing shapes, figured by our minds, which are finite, but not having more relation to infinity than the type in which a book is printed has relation to the writer's thought. Bruno denies true being to compound things, which require matter, size, and space; for these are shadows, fugitive types, and marks of the Divine; and by contemplating the mind as a storehouse for the forms of Nature, a gallery as it were of statues and pictures, themselves but the vestiges and imperfect traces of the Divine Primal Idea, he is careful to distinguish between the faint copies of the ideal which are in the mind, and the true ideal reality or real ideality in which we live and move and have our being.

These images are derived from the fount of forms, the primal idea and principle which is above Nature. Every form in Nature which is discernible to the understanding, no matter how it is indicated, must be created anew or figured in the intellect. This process of creation is related to the process by which Nature receives at the hand of the great fount of forms and primal idea those shapes and beings which she reproduces; and it will be noted that this philosophy differs from that of Descartes,¹ because it advances from "I know Nature, therefore it is," to "Nature knows God, therefore he is."

Bruno furnishes the reader with a quantity of rules for the marks and signs of ideas which precede things of Nature, as form in the mind of the artist precedes the work of art; and these ideas abide in Nature, as the mind of the artist abides in the work of art; they are in man as he receives the impression of the artist's mind when beholding a work of art. It must, however, be understood that Bruno's philosophy is remote from the extreme immaterialism of Bishop Berkeley on the one hand, and from physical and pantheistic views on the other. In opposition

¹ "It seems to me that I may adopt as a general rule that all things which I conceive very distinctly and clearly are true."—*Descartes, Meditationes de Prima Philosophia*, Med. iii.

G. Bruno.

to Hobbes, who assumed, with Democritus and the Epicureans, that the body accounted for the mind, and that matter was the root of the universe, Berkeley taught that there is no material substance, and that all ideas may be reduced to mind and ideas in a mind. Bruno, choosing a middle course, says plainly that "*in Nature* it is necessary to recognise two kinds of substance; the first, which is form, and the second, which is matter" (W. i. 251); continuing, "It is manifest to every man that it is not possible that this power can always make all things without that which always made all things. How can the soul of the world, which is form, itself indivisible, produce forms without the subject of extension or quantity, which is matter?" Here it is essential to refer this passage to the foregoing passages in the *Composition of Images*. Though we are unable to conceive even in our minds of any material thing without form, or, as Bruno says, without figure, it by no means follows that true being is possessed of figure. The attributes of true being and the higher qualities of our nature are without shape and dimension in the abstract: but it is a property of the finite to require limits and shackles, for these comfort the soul under the awe excited by unmeasured spaces, and by wonder, which Bacon says is the garment of God. Love, when harboured in a beloved form, possesses the shape of beauty, and is the very mould of form; but love in the abstract is not subject to shape, though our finite minds attach it to an object. Truth is without figure; so with the other Divine attributes. When, therefore, matter is stripped away, possibility is no more; we come face to face with reality; and the pure power untranslated to us by its effects will be revealed to us.

y Plato.

CHAPTER X.

"In the capacities and parts of men there are three sorts of degrees ; one man understands of himself, another understands what is explained, and a third understands neither of himself nor by any explanation. The first is excellent, the second commendable, the third altogether unprofitable."—MACHIAVELLI, *The Prince*.

Zurich. Padua. The Trial at Venice.

THE work on the *Threefold Minimum* was printed to the very last sheet ; the second, on the *Monad*, was certainly begun, when, a little before the 13th February 1591, Bruno suddenly left Frankfort, not even taking time to write his dedication to Duke Henry Julius, and confiding to his publishers the task of delivering the work to his patron. All that is known of his sudden departure we learn from the printer Wechel, who says in the dedication of one of these books that Bruno was "forced by an unexpected event to leave the city" before his work was finished.¹

¹ This was not due, as Professor Carriere has pointed out (*Allgemeine Zeitung*, 292, 294, 1868), to the invitation of Mocenigo, but to some rupture, all trace of which is now lost. The following entry appears in the *Censur Register* of Frankfort:—"Johann Wechel is permitted to print the small Latin book in 8vo, under the title of *Jordani Bruni Nolani, De Triplici Minimo et Mensura*, on the 17th March 1591." No such permission appears to have

been granted for printing the two other works which appeared in Frankfort.

In the Catalogue of the fair for Easter, 1591, *De Triplici Minimo* appears among the poetical works issued in that city. The *Monad* and the work on the *Images, Signs, and Ideas* are not in these lists, perhaps because they may have lain under the censure of the authorities. But in the catalogue compiled in 1592 by Nicholas Bassano, bookseller, of

Whatever may be the reason, Bruno's departure was clearly a matter of necessity, and it was equally necessary that he should not be too far away from the town where two of his works were passing through the press. Tempted by the thought of revisiting his country, he drew a little nearer to the borders of Italy, hoping, no doubt, that in the sweetness of home he might less perceive the bitterness of life.

It was long since he had quitted his native land to become a wanderer on the face of the earth. "He would have done well," says Bayle, "had he continued his journeyings." "Providence," writes Lacroze, "led him back to cut short the sum of his errors;" and indeed the heavy hand of the Church was all too soon to be laid upon him in correction. Strange to say, as yet he had not once entered into personal conflict with the Catholic party. His name was well known on both sides of the Alps, but, so far as evidence is forthcoming, he had for many years fallen into no serious difficulties with the Church. A fugitive monk, and under the ban of excommunication, he not only escaped molestation in Paris and Toulouse, but obtained some standing in both cities. According to the evidence of Fra Domenico da Nocera, a professor in the monastery of St. Dominic of Naples (Doc. x.), Bruno asserted that he had put off the habit because he was forbidden to wear it by Fra Domenico Vita, the Provincial of the Order; but at other times he made no secret of the past, though, as far as was possible, he held himself aloof from the Church. He had no care for the morrow, believing that, come what might, he was chosen to raise such a temple to God as would brave the lapse of

Frankfort, we find, "*Jordani Bruni Nolani, de Triplici Minimo*. 1591. V. 8. *Ejusdem, De Monade, Numero et Figura Liber: item, De Innumerabilibus, Immenso et Infigurabili . . . Libri*. 1591. A. 8. *De Imaginum Signorum et Idearum Compositione*. 1591. A. 8." The letters V. and

A. stand respectively for the vernal and autumnal fairs; and therefore it is clear that the *Monad* and the book upon the *Idea* did not come upon the market till some six months after the work upon the *Minimum*.

ages (*De Min.* ii. p. 8); for he was assured that it was his mission to proclaim infinity everywhere present, in things great and small, in that atom or monad which is inappreciable to the senses, as in the suns and stars which move in the outermost spaces of the sky. "The wise man," he wrote as he left Frankfort, with a strange foreboding of his fate, "fears not death; nay, even there are times when he sets forth to meet it bravely."

Zurich, then containing a large company of Italian refugees, offered refuge to the wanderer. He was not far removed from the "subtle air of Italy," nor too distant from his work in Frankfort. And if it was the air of Tuscany which lured Galileo¹ away from the University of Padua, it was no less certain that a lingering love for his native land drew Bruno nearer to Italy. As a philosopher, he claimed "the earth for his mother and the sun for his father," but as a man his heart clung to the village which skirted the sea, basking among vineyards or lying within the refreshing shadow of Mount Cicala. Perhaps the longing to see his home awoke as he met his countrymen day by day in the booksellers' shops in Frankfort, and their familiar accents called up before his mind a vision of the myrtles and laurels of Cicala, of the vines of Asprinio near Nola, "than which there are no better in the world" (*W.* ii. 209), and of the Bay of Naples, its brightly coloured strand gay with sunshine such as never lights the chilly shores of the North. Hainzel, to whom Bruno's last printed work was dedicated, had that year acquired the castle of Elgg or Elgau; it was he, probably, who induced the Nolan to make Zurich his halting-place.

¹ It was Galileo's motto that no man can teach the truth to others; he can do no more than aid them to find it in themselves. This was the theory of Bruno and of Bacon; but while Bacon is content with teaching how to discover, Bruno discovers.

He treats science as Raphael treated art, widening, creating, but never pausing in his activity to assume the passive character of one pointing out a road which he cannot himself follow.

But whatever the causes may have been which conspired to drive Bruno suddenly away from Frankfort, it is clear that his departure must have been hastened, not only by his longing to see Italy once more, but also by a letter which he is known to have received from Zuane Mocenigo, a patrician of Venice. One of those offshoots of a noble house which gave seven Doges to Venice, four of whom were his ancestors, Giovanni or Zuane Mocenigo was one in whom great qualities had run into their extremes. In him the wisdom of his forerunners had degenerated into cunning, and their strength into brutality. He had exhausted the vigour natural to his race; and as in a vine a certain quantity of grapes must be pruned, so a share of the productions of the human race appear in our narrow vision as if they called for the same summary treatment.

A book by Bruno¹—probably a work on the Art of Lully—fell into the hands of Ciotto, a Venetian bookseller, and was brought by him to Venice, where Mocenigo became acquainted with it. He at once conceived a lively desire to make the author's acquaintance, not, it may be imagined, from any love of learning, but partly perhaps because he felt his own deficiency, and hoped to remedy it by the Art of Memory; and chiefly, no doubt, because he had the love of a weak nature for the marvellous.

¹ In the margin of the sixth document the title *Heroici Furori* is cancelled, and *De Minimo Magno et Mensura* is substituted for it, showing there was uncertainty in Ciotto's recollection of the particular book which first attracted the attention of Mocenigo to Bruno. As Sigwart has pointed out (*Verzeichniss der Doctoren*, p. 28), the book on the *Minimum* was scarcely finished when Bruno quitted Frankfort, nor could it have reached Venice at the earliest until after the fair at Easter in 1591. Mocenigo owned, moreover, to Ciotto that he desired to see Bruno in order to learn "the secrets of memory and

others which he professed" (Doc. vi.), and the contents of the *Minimum* being purely metaphysical and mathematical, while the tenour of the *Heroic Rapture* is chiefly poetic, neither of these works were likely to rouse curiosity upon the mysterious science of Mnemonics. The book in question was, more probably, either the *Song of Circe*, the book on *Memory* printed in Paris, or the book *De Lampade Combinatoria*, of which Bertano speaks in his evidence (Doc. vii.) as "curious works, and finely written, and works well known in Frankfort," whence they could readily make their way to Venice.

The question now remains, When did Mocenigo's invitation reach Bruno, and was it the cause of his leaving Frankfort? Scarcely, or why was Bruno eight months on the road between Frankfort and Venice; and why did he wait to receive a second summons? In the "last year," Bruno says in his evidence (Doc. viii.), May 29, 1592, "finding myself at Frankfort, I received two letters from Sr. Giovanni Mocenigo, a Venetian gentleman, in which he invited me to go to Venice, and desired, according to that which he wrote to me, that I should teach him the art of memory and invention, promising to treat me well, and that I should be satisfied with him; and so I came about seven or eight months ago."

A clue to Bruno's departure from Frankfort is with far greater likelihood furnished by the Burgomaster's book, with its entry of civic excommunication dated the 2d of July. Yet this banishment must not have seemed irrevocable, or why in the same document (Doc. viii.), when desiring to take leave of Mocenigo, should Bruno assert that he had taken measure to despatch his packages to Frankfort, where he intended to return, in order to see his books through the press; and again (Doc. ix.), that during his stay at Venice he had visited Frankfort afresh (*e andavo a Francoforti di novo partendomi di qui*) in order to have other works printed; and once more (Doc. xvii.), that he purposed "to go back to Frankfort to print some of his works on the seven liberal arts and on seven other inventive arts"? Some quarrel, such as he had already roused in a score of towns, was no doubt the chief cause of his sudden departure; and the invitation of Mocenigo, added to the inscrutable spirit of wandering by which the Nolan was possessed, drove him onward till he reached his native land. Other motives too led him to put this daring plan into execution. The son of a soldier, he was not blind to the danger, before which he did not quail. He was, as he says of himself, "a man with no head-piece but my own" (W. i. 217), "seeing not with the

eyes of Copernicus nor of Ptolemy, but with his own" (W. i. 126). "Insane atheism" (W. ii. 120) was doomed by him to destruction; and—without echoing the words of Goethe,¹ "He who has religion needs not knowledge, and he who has knowledge has no need of religion"—Bruno did not hold the symbol higher than the thing symbolised; for he taught that the kingdom of God is within men, and he believed a church to be little better than a prison when its cold dividing stones rose up between man and man, or shut the worshipper out from the face of heaven. But at his trial he declared himself willing to withdraw certain writings in which he had expressed himself not altogether ("*non troppo*") as a good Christian. Following Scotus Erigena, and Nicholas of Cusa, he adhered to his right of interpreting the doctrines of theology as a philosopher. "We may not search for the Divinity," he writes, "beyond the infinite world and the infinity of things, but behind and within them. In this matter alone the faithful theologian appears to differ from the true philosopher" (W. i. 275). Hence it follows (W. ii. 27) that theologians who are both learned and religious have never curtailed the liberty of philosophers, and true and courteous philosophers have ever favoured religion; for each of them knows that faith is required for the maintenance of churlish people, who must be governed, while demonstration is for contemplative men, who can govern themselves and others." "Let the Nolan," he wrote in the *Supper of Ashes*, "be taken home with a torch, and if that be too much, lend him a lanthorn with a rushlight." In the words of Lowell, "He was not one of the meechin kind, that sets and thinks for weeks the bottom's out of the universe because their own gill-pot leaks." He put his trust in philosophy, the object of his pursuit from his youth

¹ An interesting article on the influence of Bruno upon Goethe will be found in the *Goethe Jahrbuch*, edited by Ludwig Geiger, vol. vii. p. 240, Frankfort, 1886. It is written by Dr. Brunnhofer, who has treated the subject in his *Life of Bruno*, pp. 151-154, 169.

up, and he believed that nothing can befall man which wisdom will not frustrate or patience overcome. Never relinquishing the hope of reconciling philosophy with religion, that Utopian vision was always before him, but never to be realised. In his earlier Italian works, as in his Latin writings, and especially in the *Summary of Terms*, composed at this period, he returns again and again to insist that science should be free. Despite his belief in the unity of man's knowledge, he insists on the necessity of dividing philosophy from religion in their effects, though they have but one cause, and lead but to one end. Philosophy, rightfully used and followed, will reveal a rational theology and a natural system of morals. Nature and man's heart alike behold the divinity and the universal law of absolute justice. Reason discovers the laws which rule the universe, and reason makes plain that ideal of justice¹ which is apparent in the pages of history, and inseparable from a right understanding of the labours and the destiny of man. On the one hand philosophy or natural science, on the other positive theology or supernatural science, are, it might seem, opposed; but they are in truth bestowed upon us by God to lead us, each according to our several peculiar gifts, towards the divine perfection. Their ways are devious, their modes of thought differ. The philosopher obeys reason and seeks evidence; the theologian, who is guided by faith, inclines his head before revelation. Since, moreover, his sole aims are those of the theologian, to walk in the ways of wisdom, to succour (Gfr. 160) his fellows, and to demonstrate that universal principle from which all being flows and to which it returns, the philosopher and theologian should be united in the closest bonds of fellowship. To the philosopher, as to the theologian, the same liberty should be granted. Theology is not to war upon philosophy, nor truth with truth, nor is light to be confounded with light, nor goodness with

¹ This is the doctrine of Hegel's *Philosophy of History*.

goodness; and in the conception of a God who can neither deceive nor be deceived, who is not jealous, but in whose sovereign goodness is truth itself and light itself, in this supreme conception the philosopher and the theologian cannot but meet and be at peace.

For Bruno's view of the relations of Nature to God we may cite the following:—"Above all, God is mind (*Intellectus*). Mind is common to all things in Nature.¹ Mind pervading each thing and everything is Reason. God dictates and commands: Nature effects and produces: Reason beholds and searches. God is the first Monad, the foundation and source of all number. Simplicity (unity?) is the substance and the excelling quality of all greatness and composition, above every other condition and quality innumerable and immense. Nature is number which can be numbered, greatness which can be measured; it is apparent to the senses and comprehensible. Reason is numbered number, measured greatness; it is the power which estimates. God by means of Nature passes into the reason. Reason is brought through Nature to God. God is love; he is creative; he is light. Nature is to be loved; it is the creature; it is ardour and fire. Reason is loving; in a certain measure it is the subject inflamed by Nature and enlightened by God" (see Gfr. 564, 496, 582).

Thus all that which we understand by heaven and all that we call earth submits to one law. In the whole of the universe, of which our globe is but a particle, there is continuous motion, rotation, revolution, and change. "Which sphere or celestial vault is none other than a delusion of the eye, and those stars which we call fixed are no other than so many suns, around which planets describe circles, as with our sun; nor is it any wonder that by reason of their great distance they are unseen by us. And if these suns are, as it were, the centre of systems of

¹ The same thing has been said passage was quoted by Bruno (W. by Virgil: "*Mens agitat molem,* i. 242). *magnoque se corpore miscet.*" This

planets related to ours, they may be called worlds, and every celestial body may be called a world, which, like our earth, harbours a multitude of living creatures" (*De Immenso*, vi. 2, v. 7). "Of these worlds there is not one, nor two, but an infinity, infinite as the space containing them." "Nevertheless, it can by no means be granted that these do not form an universe because they do not all gravitate towards a single centre nor are enclosed by one periphery; for they do in nowise take from a more lofty and ideal unity; one being the space in which these heavenly bodies travel, they are formed of one substance, informed by one spirit" (*De Imm.* vii. 13, v. 16; *De Mon.* c. 2, v. 236). "God (is) the First Cause in so far as all things are distinct from him, as the effect (is) from the efficient, the thing made from the maker" (W. i. 261). All is subject to endless transformation except the One which transforms and changes all things, the central force of stars and suns, of bodies and of souls; the force which bestows upon all living things both form and matter, and which therefore we call the Soul of souls and the Being of beings. The Soul of souls is the Unity which cannot perish, the Identity revealed in all changes, the simplicity which is the foundation of all that is composite and multiplied. The Being of beings is the cause and principle of law, the immutable substance, unseen by the eye of sense, but visible to the eye of reason, the bond of union in that which is multiplied and changing, the last and the first of the powers of Nature, and it is a result of their supreme origin that all forms of physical and moral being apparent in the universe, no matter how different in constitution and in destiny, share a common life, and form, as it were, the members of one vast and harmonious whole. Firmly grounded in this faith, and believing it to be inconceivable that any thinker or theologian should seek offence in his theories, he was blind to all danger. Wearied with the arduous struggle against poverty, chilled to the heart with others' mistrust

and his own failure, roving, rejected, the favour of great men given him only to be withdrawn, unsolaced by the company of disciples or the ministering of a single friend, he took the fatal decision to approach his native land. He hoped, no doubt, to remain unmolested in Venice, which more than any other Italian city had preserved a certain independence of the Papacy.¹ Moreover, the high place and noble name of Mocenigo offered him security and protection. At Zurich, accordingly, he awaited a second summons from the young patrician. To Raphael Eglin,² a pastor of the Reformed Church and a poetic philosopher, Bruno dictated an abridgment of his *Metaphysics*, a portion of which was twice printed under the title *Summa Terminorum Metaphysicorum*, the first time in 1595 during Bruno's imprisonment in Rome, and again after his death in 1609. The first or exoteric part of this work contains a quantity of definitions founded on the categories of Aristotle, the second or esoteric portion being occupied with the doctrine of emanation taught by the Neo-Platonists. According to Brunnhofer, this work contains entire propositions recalling sometimes word for word the *Ethics* of Spinoza. The flowing style, according to the same writer, entirely justifies Eglin's admiration for his master's adroitness in logic.

It is evident that Bruno never ceased to cherish the hope, not only that it might be granted him to teach

¹ When Venice was placed under the interdict, the Senate signified to the grand vicar of the Bishop of Padua that he was forbidden to publish the decree. The grand vicar replied that he would act as God should inspire him; to which the Senate responded that God had already inspired the Council of Ten to hang the disobedient.

² In the same year Eglin had received the freedom of the town from the magistrates of Zurich in return for his services to the state schools. Some years later both

Hainzel and Eglin were concerned in a charge of practising alchemy and of falsifying coin. This had disastrous consequences for the accused men. Perhaps their credibility on this point may have caused Bruno to withdraw from their society, for he had signified his contempt for magical investigations at the outset of his literary career in the *Candle-bearer* when deriding the efforts of Bonifacio to make gold by means of the imposture of the alchemist Cencio.

the truth as a philosopher, but that he might succeed in making his peace with the Pope. During the whole of his travels he had approached the confessional twice only; and he postponed his desire to reconcile himself with the Church till the advent of a Pope less terrible to backsliders than Sixtus V. When the stern pontiff was dead, Bruno probably hoped for tolerance at the hands of Gregory XIV.—“a soul of virgin innocence,” as he is called by Ranke. A second change in the Papacy emboldened the philosopher yet further, and gave rise to the hope that by dedicating a work to Clement VIII. the Papal favour might be secured, together with a safe return to the Church.

Accordingly we find that one work in particular, upon the *Seven Liberal Arts*, was destined by Bruno for presentation to the sovereign pontiff. “This I desired,” he says in his evidence at the trial (Doc. ix.), “to have printed in Frankfort, intending to take it, and some others of my printed works which I approve (for some I do not approve), and to place myself at the feet of his Holiness¹ (for I have heard that he loves men of learning), and to state my case to him, and to endeavour to obtain absolution for my sins and permission to wear the clerical habit without entering religion; and I have spoken with many Neapolitan fathers of the Order, and in particular with Fra Domenico da Nocera and with Zuane Mocenigo, who also promised to help me in all things which were right.” Being asked to explain himself further, he added, that with respect to not approving his own works, he desired to say that they were those in which he had discoursed as a philosopher and not in all respects like a Christian, adding, “And in especial I know that in some of these works I have maintained and handled certain matters philosophically which ought to be attributed to the power, wisdom, and glory of God according to the Christian faith, and I have founded my doctrine upon

¹ Clement VIII. assumed the tiara February 3, 1592.

sense and reason, and not upon faith ; and this is for the generality, and for particulars I refer to my writings, for I do not now recall any especial doctrine." The evidence of Fra Domenico da Nocera, written in a cramped hand on a coarse sheet of letter-paper, follows in confirmation. " I, Fra Domenico da Nocera, of the Order of Preachers, and regent of the College of St. Dominic in Naples,—I say about this present, that to-day, May 31, 1592, the day of St. John and St. Paul, meeting with the very reverend father the Inquisitor of Venice, he called me, and in presence of the very reverend Provincial of the Holy Land and of the very reverend Provincial of Venice, commanded me to put upon paper, Had I spoken with Fra Giordano of Nola here in Venice, and what he had said to me ? and desiring to obey, I make reply that on one day of this month of May, near to the Feast of the Pentecost, coming out of the sacristy of the church of St. John and St. Paul, I saw a secular making a reverence to me, whom at first sight I did not know, but when he accosted me, saying, 'Come into a safe place,' I became aware that he was one who was one of our brethren in the province of the kingdom, a man of letters, whose name was Fra Giordano da Nola, and so we retired into a part of the aforesaid church, where he told me the reason of his departure from our province, and that he had put off the habit because it was taken from him by a father, Fra Domenico Vita, then Provincial by what was said, telling me also of many kingdoms in which he had travelled, and royal courts, with his important exercises in lecturing, but that he had always lived as a Catholic. And when I asked him what he did in Venice, and how he lived, he said that he arrived in Venice but a few days back and that he had enough of his own to live comfortably, and that he was resolved to be quiet, and to set to work to compose a book which he had in his mind, and then, by important assistance and accompanied by favour, he would present it to his Holiness and obtain his

pardon for that which he had related, to give rest to his conscience, and finally to see if he could stay in Rome and there devote himself to the literary calling, and to show his worth, and perhaps to deliver some lectures."

It was this hearty desire for reconciliation with the Papacy, and this premature confidence in the concord between philosophy and religion, added to his warm desire to see his native land once more, which led Bruno to take the disastrous step of revisiting Italy. His project filled those who knew him with dismay. Rumour brought the news, which they could scarcely credit, to the inhabitants of Bologna. A native of Brandenburg and student of Helmstedt, Valens Acidalius, being at Bologna, where he was staying in the house of one Persio, wrote on the 12th February 1592 to the Bavarian Michael Forgacz, baron of Gîmes, then living at Prague, the following letter:—"I would ask of thee one thing. It is said that the Nolan, Giordano Bruno, thy friend at Wittenberg, is at present at Padua living and teaching. Is it truly so? What man is this who dares to return to Italy, whence he once fled? I am in amazement, and can give no credit to the story, though I hear it from persons worthy of confidence. Instruct me, as I desire to be assured, or to be undeceived in this matter."¹

The glory of Venice was past its prime, but the Republic was still sufficiently splendid, at the close of a century of splendour, to justify the wonder and admiration which it everywhere encountered. The empire of its nobles was extended even to the realm of thought, which, by a humorous freak of despotism, "was decreed should be free." The government, which displayed a supreme contempt for individual rights, manifested for independent speculation a respect hitherto unknown—a respect inspired by the incomparable education of the governing body.

¹ Before the discovery of the documents of Bruno's trial at Venice this letter was the only evidence that Bruno had lived and taught in Padua.

Other states were ruled by soldiers or the sons of soldiers, the might of whose fathers had made them princes; but the nobles of Venice were men who owed nothing to their birth but certain hereditary offices, and on whom undue or uninvited prominence would have been visited with all the jealousy once shown by Athens.

In Venice, as at Athens, each man suspected and dreaded a despot in his neighbour; and men of eminence were compelled to turn their attention to learning, for that "is exempted from the wrong of time," as from the wrongs of men. For more than a hundred years the liberal schools at Padua had moulded the minds of the patricians of Venice. There was hardly one noble Venetian who had not taught or learnt in the school founded by the Republic at Venice in 1470. The Senate discussed the choice of the professors; their rewards and dignities were matter of state control; and a special officer of the highest standing was appointed to direct public instruction. But the professors were granted full freedom with regard to their own interpretation of the subjects intrusted to them by the Senate. Thus, though philosophy was supported by the state, it was free in the best sense of the word; and such was the pride of the Venetians in their academy, that in 1571 the Senate decreed that they would recognise no degrees except those granted by their own university. Yet the schools of Padua, so dear to Venice and so richly endowed by that city, were the centre of a sterile philosophy; and the pantheistic doctrine of Averroës,¹ then ruling, was entirely opposed to the comfort and safety of an idealistic philosopher such as Bruno. This doctrine was descended, as it seemed, from the old Greek ethics; for although it is true that Plato was the first to use the term Divine Providence, yet, knowing no truly moral distinctions, the Greeks called a right action beautiful (*καλά*) and a wrong action ugly

¹ *Etude Historique sur la Philosophie de la Renaissance en Italie* (Cesare Cremonini), par L. Mabileau, Paris, Hachette, 1881.

(αἰσχροί). In Averroism, which may be called philosophical Islamism, individual immortality was lost in an active intellect, supposed to brood over the face of Nature, opening and closing like an automaton in order to receive again, or to send forth, those individual particles of one universal reason which wear out their short day among men.

The Averroistic doctrine¹ ruled in Padua till the middle of the seventeenth century, although it was in truth the enemy of religious faith. "Nearly the whole of the world is occupied," Ficinus says with some rhetorical exaggeration in the preface to his translation of Plotinus, "by the Peripatetics, who are divided into two sects, the Alexandrists and the Averroists. The former believe the human intellect to be mortal; the latter contend that it is one in all men. Both parties alike are the enemies of the very foundation of true religion, chiefly because they seem to deny that human affairs are controlled by a Divine Providence."

At the time of Bruno's appearance, the philosophic spirit of Padua had finished the cycle in which all purely materialistic studies are condemned to move. Starting from the contemplation of Nature, Paduan philosophy exhausted logic and metaphysics, and proceeded to search for the absolute under its twin forms, idea and being; after which, returning upon itself, it sought to investigate the nearest reality to which it could attain, the human soul. Each of these phases occupied a century, and at length that unfruitful region was attained in which nothing remains to be done except to reduce to synthetic expression the labours of the past.

It was at this moment that Bruno, fresh from his struggles in Germany, and full of heart at finding himself once more among his countrymen and speaking his

¹ The *Decamerone* of Boccaccio contains (I. Nov. 3) the story (revived and dramatised by Lessing in his *Nathan der Weise*) of the three

rings, the conception underlying which is to be found in the philosophy of Averroës.

own language, arrived at Padua. Neither eagles nor eagles' young, we are told, are fed with flies, and Bruno was not disposed to content himself with petty means or ends when once more inspirited by his native air. A natural philosopher, the sterile and abstract character of the method in vogue at Padua must have revolted him, while making him familiar with the bitter disappointment which too often rides pillion with success. In Padua the dream of many a day of exile was realised; the arduous struggle against penury in a foreign land was over; the wanderer once more heard the familiar accents of his childhood, and scented that peculiar vigorous savour which rises only from the soil of Italy. But, as one of the Ishmaelites of this world, his hand was against every man's; and to hope better times were in store for him was to ignore his nature, for he carried within himself the elements of his own destruction; and duller men, discerning his fiery spirit, sought to quench it lest it should cause a general conflagration.

Bruno quitted Zurich in the early summer, if we may judge from a manuscript dated Sunday,¹ the 1st of July 1591, according to the Gregorian calendar, while in Zurich the Julian calendar was still in force. In September or October he appeared in Venice, where he took a lodging and prepared himself to instruct Mocenigo (Doc. ii., v.), though for the greater part he lived at Padua, where, taking advantage of the university, he gave private lectures to the German students, with whom the Nolan had much in common (Doc. vi.) His stay at Padua, moreover, was broken by the journey to Frankfort already mentioned for the purpose of seeing his works through the press. At specified times he returned to Venice to superintend the studies of Mocenigo,

¹ Professor Sigwart, in his masterly sketch of the life of Bruno, points out that by a pen error the philosopher dated his MSS. Sunday, July 1st, *Liber Triginta Statuarum*.

This was a mistake of one day; for in 1591 the 1st of July fell on Monday. The work was begun in Zurich and finished in Padua on the 22d of October (Noroff Catalogue).

and at Padua, in the autumn, we find him engaged with a pupil, Hieronymus Besler from Nuremberg, who became his secretary, and with whom he made a copy of a manuscript called *De Sigillis Hermitis Ptolomei et Aliorum*, which from its title was perhaps a work on the occult sciences, intended by Bruno to entertain his superstitious Venetian patron. Orientals say that the vast Asiatic ruins were the work of enchanters, and only the unlearned believe that works beyond their compass are due to magic. But there can be no doubt that the attraction of Mocenigo for his philosophic studies was not founded upon metaphysics, which, we are told by Bruno, in the *Expulsion*, "considers the universal principles of all things falling under human cognisance, . . . those species of ideas and sorts of ends and efficientes above natural effects, as well according to the reality that is in things as according to the representing conception." Nor is it likely that "the bright shining of the world, that luminous and excellent star" (W. ii. 99),¹ caused any wonder in Mocenigo. No "fruitful progress of contemplation" (W. ii. 393) was likely to awaken in his sordid mind interest in the sources of the soul or in the life of the "vast universe which is subject to our sight and to our common reason" (W. ii. 393).

The scheme of creation, when expressed in Lullian figures, was, in Bruno's mind, like the Urim and Thummim in whose symbols were the judgment of God; but this lofty conception was no more to Mocenigo than if it had been the pane of an inn-window scrawled with a hundred trivial signatures.

The Venetian, whose mind turned solely upon his own profit, and upon Mnemonics, which he thought a royal

¹ "It should seem that the celestial bodies, most of them, are true fires or flames, as the Stoics held, more fire perhaps and rarified than our flame is. For they are all globular and determinate, they have rotation, and they have the colour

and splendour of flame: so that flame above is durable and consistent, and in its natural place; but with us it is a stranger and momentary and impure; like Vulcan, that halted with his fall."—*Bacon*, lx. vol. 2.

road to success, was not able to perceive the true nature of the philosopher. Casaubon, we are told by his biographer Mark Pattison, suffered "from the disease of double-mindedness, and when he was reading the classics, wished he was reading the Fathers;" and Mocenigo was probably in the same plight, wishing to command Venice while he was learning, and to learn while he exhausted himself in fruitless struggles to rival the Doges who were members of his family. It was not, we learn from books of heraldry, till somewhat late that fathers and sons bore the same arms; the sons, when their faces were concealed for battle, preferring to be known apart from their fathers by another crest;¹ and some such plan might be adopted once more; for as a writer's early triumphs are said to be his most formidable rivals, so the successful members of a family are not precisely those with whom the younger branches would choose to measure their strength. Unfortunately, Mocenigo, who, had he been without a great name, might have lived reputably upon his small ability, found himself compelled to have recourse to magic, and failing that, to still meaner arts and subterfuges. When the Tartars, we are told, see a strong or brave man, they seek to kill him, in the belief that they will inherit his useful qualities, but Mocenigo had not the plea of these savages in causing the death of his master.

It was a strange coincidence that Padua and Venice, which Bruno had quitted soon after the Roman trial of 1576, should have been the first Italian cities to receive the exile, and the last in which he was master of his liberty. Padua appeared to offer a safe resting-place

¹ Sir Philip Sidney at every tournament displayed a new device. At a tilt the day after the birth of a son to Lord Leicester, Sidney assumed the motto *Speravi*, the word crossed with a black line to show his hope was dashed. Bruno on one occasion took for his motto the words, "*Sad in joy, joyful in sorrow*," and solaced himself with the title "Academician of no Academy," reflecting meanwhile upon the full academicians who are "fathers in ignorance." At another time he was the "citizen and servant of the world, son of the earth his mother, and of the sun his father."

not only as harbouring a great school, then the first in Italy, but also because it was a city dependent upon Venice, that state of which Lord Bacon writes as "the wisest of Europe, whose prosperity hath made them secure, and underweighers of peril." Venice perhaps was not so much in need of a university as the university needed the protection of Venice. "It was not," said Junius, "Virginia that wanted a governor, but a court favourite that wanted a salary;" and without the help of its astute and powerful protector, Padua might have found itself in bad case, lying exposed on four sides to neighbours, whose only feeling of brotherhood lay in an unmixed desire for community of goods.¹

But, despite what has been called by Addison "very fine moralities," the attraction of Italy remains unequalled,

¹ "In which city," says Roger Ascham, "I saw more wickedness in a week than in all my life in England." Three years before Bruno's first stay in Padua, Sir Philip Sidney passed though the city on his way to Venice. And desiring, as he tells us, to eschew "strange and inkhorn terms," he confesses that "next to the Greck and Latin, he likes and loves the Italian tongue above all other." Yet he writes of Italianised Englishmen as "ready backbiters, sore nippers, and spiteful reporters privily of good men." And of Italy he says, "Virtue once made the country mistress over all the world; vice now maketh that country slave to them that before were glad to serve it." A kindred feeling seems to have possessed other Elizabethan moralists. "Suffer not thy sons," writes the great Lord Burleigh to his second son Robert, "to pass the Alps, for they shall learn nothing there but pride, blasphemy, and atheism." Hubert Languet, too, writes to Sir Philip Sidney, "It is difficult for a man clothed in white apparel to remain in an apartment filled with smoke and dust without soiling his garment; nor can the complexion which has been long ex-

posed to the sun retain its native hue. Equally difficult it will be for you to preserve your mind pure and spotless if you converse with the Italians, the inhabitants of Venice and Padua alone excepted;" adding, "If you should fall into the hands of those robbers who live in Rome, you must either renounce the religion which you profess or expose your life to extreme danger. In Rome . . . you run the hazard of losing your religion, your conscience, and your reputation." Accordingly, Sidney spent several months at Venice and in Padua, writing to his brother without any remarkable increase of respect for the Italians, as follows:—"For Italy, wee know not what we have or can have to doe with them, but to buy their silkes and wines; and as for the other point, except Venice, whose good laws and customes wee can hardly proportion to ourselves, because they are quite of a contrary government, there is little there but tyrannous oppression and servil yielding to them that have little or no right over them. And for the men you shall have there, although indeed some be excellently learned, yet are they all given to counterfeit learn-

and of all Italian cities Venice bears away the palm. Swift, who "could write finely upon a broomstick," might sue for such a subject, for in Venice there is every element of fine writing. When the sun raises his great globe of vivid red, the air and those antique pieces of water shine like fire; in the deep moonlight, pillars and statues seem to be turned to carvings in silver and ebony; while sunset strews the water-way with myriads of sparks and paints upon it a lustrous image of the sky, which stretches away, a bright celestial expanse, into the distance, where the trembling surface of the sea shines with liquid hues of amethyst and opal, such as pave the New Jerusalem. The firmament above is scarcely divided from the firmament below, which repeats again and again, like an echo, tones of heavenly blue, carnation, and opal. Reflection on reflection, sun to sun and moon to moon, fill the water and multiply the beauty of the scene; each thing seeks its mysterious double; every bridge reflected in the shining streams becomes a ring of pierced ivory or coloured marble, and a transparent image lies at the foot of every palace. Fact and fancy go hand in hand through that tissue of light, the sparkling haze which is cast over the city like an enchanter's spell. Linger in the narrow causeways of the anchored city, the gorgeous and fantastic forms chronicled in the splendid annals of Venice are not more real than the immortal figures sung by poets or painted by the great masters. On those broad lagoons rode the ships of Bassanio side by side with the golden Bucentaur. The Rialto and the Bridge of Sighs are peopled with dead princes and ambassadors, as with the luminous forms immortalised by the colours of Giorgione and Tintoret, and by the gentle art of Shakespeare. Here they

ing, as a man shall learne among them more false grounds of things than in any place I knowe; for from a tapster upwards they are all discourers in certain matters and qualities, as horsemanship, weapon,

paynting, and such are better there than in other countries; but for other matters, as well, if not better, you shall have them in nearer places."

are domiciled for ever, with the iridescent flight of pigeons, the lustre of bronze wrought into a fabric as delicate as dreamwork, the pearly hue which marble takes from age, and those varied graces which are the matchless legacy of the Renaissance. Here and in Holland is the especial kingdom of the painter, who by his vivid filial likeness proves that genius gave him birth; and in just measure as he is true to Nature, so Nature is true to him, and by right of that exquisite spirit which he has captured and fixed upon his canvas, by the flower-like hues of Venice, by the silver radiance of Holland, Nature becomes his inalienable patrimony for ever.

Bruno had now entered upon the last year of his public life in Venice, where the links between the governing and the governed, so often relaxed and so often unduly strained in other parts of Italy, still held good in the bonds of mutual confidence. For him Venice was still "the eldest child of Liberty," in spite of the threatening aspect of the Inquisition. When the French ambassador congratulated Cervantes on the great reputation of *Don Quixote*, "Had it not been for the Inquisition," said Cervantes, "I should have made my book much more entertaining;" and the influence of the Inquisition penetrated every country and every rank of society. Before he was captured by the Holy Office some tranquil months fell to Bruno's lot, for we find that he left his lodging and went to live upon the Grand Canal, in the quarter of San Samuele, where the house of Mocenigo stood. It is astonishing that, being without means, without adherents, suspected in many quarters, hunted from town to town by the ban of excommunication, Bruno should have found courage and fresh hope to teach, to reprove, and to exhort anew. His reputation as a philosopher and a man of lively conversation and great attainments had preceded him. He was made free of the literary circles, which met and disputed in the book-

sellers' shops, and in the house of the noble Venetian, Andrea Morosini, standing in the division of San Luca, upon the Grand Canal. "Here," says Morosini in his evidence, "certain gentlemen are used to resort, and also prelates, to entertain themselves with discoursing, and upon philosophy chiefly."

It was not long, however, before Mocenigo began to grow discontented with his master. No one will become a painter by looking at models, nor is a thinker made by patterns for thought; and Mocenigo, let him turn the concentric circles of Lully as he might, was not likely to become either inventive or retentive, although, like Gianozzo Manetti, who kept a Jew in his house in order to learn Hebrew, the Venetian kept a philosopher in his house in order to learn philosophy; not comprehending Bruno's doctrine upon that "remembrance of the soul's high inheritance which is penitence" (W. i. 188); nor, again, on that "love of the good and beautiful which is not forgetfulness but memory, . . . since we cannot desire that which we do not know" (W. ii. 330). He was able to grasp the conception of sorcery; for in sorcery we have not the idea of a God, of a moral faith; it exhibits man as the highest power, regarding him as alone occupying a position of command over the power of Nature. But true religion is like the bright glimmering of the dawn. It issues from man's consciousness of a higher Power, in relation to which he owns his weakness and humility.

The fate of Bruno was sealed. With his eyes open he placed his head in the noose prepared by the Inquisition, entering the house of Mocenigo in March 1592. Between the pupil and the master there must have been no more than the sympathy which Lord Bacon pretends to exist between the weapon and the wound. The storm was gathering. The discontent of Mocenigo increased daily. The little he learnt from Bruno, who no doubt soon discovered his incapacity,

was no compensation for the expense and trouble of lodging an unmannerly stranger. The two men had not a point in common; and at last, as no magical effects were forthcoming, Mocenigo became persuaded that Bruno had kept back his chief secrets; and soon after they first met, the bookseller Ciotto deposes that at Easter 1592 he was commissioned by Mocenigo to inquire, when visiting the fair in Frankfort, whether Bruno was a man who could be trusted, and whether his pretensions were worthy of credit. "I have," said Mocenigo to Ciotto, "this man here at my expense; he has promised to teach me many things; he has had clothes and money in quantities from me on this account. I cannot bring him to any conclusion, and I suspect he is not a good man; and since you are going to Frankfort, you will do me a favour by taking some trouble to discover if he is trustworthy, and if he will keep his word." "So," Ciotto adds, "when I was at Frankfort I spoke with different scholars, and I found that he had made profession of memory, and of other such secrets, but that nothing came of it, and all those who had dealings with him were dissatisfied." To which Mocenigo answered, "I doubt him also; but I desire to make him repay me something of the money which I have squandered upon him, and I will then deliver him up to the Holy Inquisition" (May 26, 1592). Accordingly Mocenigo appealed, according to his own story, to his confessor, though to do so was, as the French say, *enfoncer une porte ouverte*. The confessor desired his willing penitent to deliver Bruno up to the Inquisition. It is scarcely likely that the confessor was consulted when Mocenigo hoped to learn by the black art the secrets of alchemy and the elixir of life, or that the same pious authority was asked when the unhappy exile was tempted to return to his native land by Mocenigo. As soon, however, as he determined to betray his master, he naturally sought to throw the burden of the deed upon religion, which was forced to set its seal upon

the act of betrayal and murder. As a result, Mocenigo threatened to lay before the Council of the Inquisition an account of Bruno's "wicked words, both against our Lord Jesus Christ and against the Church;" to which Bruno answered, "that he had no fear of the Inquisition, for his manner of life offended no man; that he did not remember having said any wicked thing whatever, and that even if he had said it, he had said it to me alone, and that he could, therefore, have no fear I would injure him; and that even if he were to fall into the hands of the Inquisition, at the most they might force him to resume the habit which he had abandoned." "So you have been a monk!" said Mocenigo; and he answered, "I have taken the first vows only, and in any case, therefore, I shall be able to adjust my affairs." Mocenigo replied, "How can you adjust your affairs if you have no faith; first adjust your opinions, and then you may hope to adjust your affairs; and for that, if you are willing, you shall have all the help I can give you. Though you have shown yourself so wanting in faith to me, and ungrateful for all the courtesies I have used towards you, yet in all things I wish to be your friend."

To this offer Bruno made no reply, "except to entreat," says Mocenigo, "to be set at liberty, and to say that though his packages were in order and he ready to depart, it was not that he desired to leave me, but to bridle my impatience for learning; and if I set him at liberty he would teach me all he knew, and that to me alone he would discover all the secrets of all the works written by him."

Mocenigo's puerile complaints roused Bruno's anger, and he told his discontented pupil roundly that he had taught him enough, and more than was incumbent on him, and as much as was equivalent to the gifts and the lodging and the favours cast in his teeth; and that he was determined to say farewell, and to return to

Frankfort to print the remainder of his works, and in particular that work on the *Seven Liberal Arts* which was to reconcile him with the Pope; averring, moreover, that Mocenigo had wounded him to the quick by seizing his writings, his books, and his clothes; and "this he did because he not only desired me to teach him all that I knew, but he would not permit me to teach any other person, and he did not cease to threaten me in my life and in my honour if I did not teach him all that I knew" (Doc. xiv.)

Thereupon, as has been said, Mocenigo took the formal step of denouncing Bruno to the Father Inquisitor in Venice. The denunciations, three in number, are in the form of letters (1, 2, 3, *Documenti Intorno a Giordano Bruno*, Roma, Salviucci, 1880), and they are dated severally May 23d, 25th, and 29th, 1592.¹ In these documents Bruno is accused of uttering blasphemies against

¹ DOCUMENT I.

Giovanni Mocenigo denounces Giordano Bruno to the Father Inquisitor of Venice.

23d May 1592.

Very Reverend Father and most Honoured Sir,—I, Zuane Mocenigo, son of the most noble Messer Marcantonio, constrained by my conscience and by order of my confessor, denounce to your most reverend Paternity Giordano Bruno, having heard him say several times when discoursing with me in my house, that to say bread is made flesh is a great reproach to the Catholics; that he is the enemy of the mass; that no religion pleases him; that Christ was a wicked man (*un tristo*); that since he worked evil to lead away the people, he might very well foretell he would be hanged; that in God there is no distinction of persons, which in God would be imperfection; that the world is eternal, and that there are infinite

worlds, and that God makes them infinite without ceasing, because, he says, he wills as much as he can; * that Christ worked miracles in appearance, and that he was a magician and the Apostles also, and that he (Bruno) could do as much and more; that Christ was unwilling to die, and fled from death so long as he could; that there is no punishment for sins; and that souls, created by the operation of Nature, pass from one animal to another, and that as brute beasts are born of corruption, so man is born when he is born again after the deluges.

His design was to found a new sect, under the name of the *New Philosophy*. He said that the Virgin could not have borne a child; and that our Catholic faith is full of blasphemy against the majesty of God; that the friars should not be permitted to dispute, nor to enjoy their revenues, because they defile

* This childish and absurd rendering of Bruno's philosophy is in itself a sufficient comment on Mocenigo's understanding.

the Trinity, "which is impossible, and whereby he blasphemous the name and majesty of God;" continuing,

the face of the earth; that they all are asses, and that our opinions are the doctrines of asses; that we have no proof that our faith is approved by God; and that not to do to others that which we desire them not to do to us suffices for good living; and that he laughs to scorn all other sins; and that he marvels how God endures so many Catholic heresies. He says he will apply himself to the art of divination, and to practise the black art, and all the world would follow him; that St. Thomas, with all the doctors, knew nothing compared to him; and that he could reason with all the greatest theologians in the world, so that they should not be able to reply.

He told me that in former times in Rome the Inquisitors sought a quarrel with him on one hundred and thirty articles, and that he made off whilst they were being presented, because it was imputed to him that he had thrown him into the Tiber who accused him, or whom he believed to have accused him, to the Inquisition.

I desired to learn of him, as I said, by word of mouth, not knowing how wicked he was, and, having taken note of all these things, to give account of them to you, reverend father, when I doubted that he might depart, as he said he would do. I shut him in a room to be examined by you; and because I believe him to be possessed by the devil, I pray for a speedy decision in this matter. Ciotto the librarian, and Messer Giacomo Bertano, another librarian, will be able to speak conformably with me to the Holy Office, the said Bertano having spoken particularly of him to me, telling me that he was an enemy to Christ and to our faith, and that he had heard him give utterance to rank heresy.

I also send your most reverend Paternity three of his printed books, with some things hastily noted by

me, and also a small work from his hand on God, by deduction of certain of his universal predicates,* upon which you can pass judgment.

Further, he frequented an academy of Ser Andrea Morosini, son of the most noble Ser Giacomo, which many gentlemen frequent, who perhaps may have heard him expound certain of his opinions.

Those matters done by him for me, which are of no account, I will willingly submit to your judgment, for I desire in all things to be a true and obedient son of our Holy Church.

And, finally, I reverently kiss the hands of your most reverend Paternity.

From my house the 23d of May 1592.—Your most reverend Paternity's most obliged servant,

ZUANE MOCENIGO.

DOCUMENT II.

Second Denunciation of Giovanni Mocenigo in accusation of Bruno.

25th May 1592.

Very Reverend Father and my most Honoured Sir,—On that day when I had Giordano Bruno under lock and key, having asked him if what he would not teach me (although he had promised it to me in return for many courtesies and many gifts which I had made to him), he should do so, at least so that I might not accuse him of many wicked words both against our Lord Jesus Christ and against the holy Catholic Church, he made response that he had no fear of the Inquisition, because he had offended no man by

* Brunnhofer suggests that this MSS. was a copy of that part of the *Summa Terminorum Metaphysicorum* which is entitled *De Deo Seu Mente*.

"And on my bidding him be silent, and that he would be pleased to use despatch in what he had to do for me,

his manner of living, and that he did not remember having said any wicked thing whatever; and that even if he had said it, he had said it to me alone, and that therefore he could have no fear that I should injure him in this manner; and that even if he were to fall into the hands of the Inquisition, at the most they could force him to wear the habit he had abandoned.

"So you were a monk?" said I to him. He answered, "I took the first vows only, and in any case, therefore, I shall always be able to adjust my affairs." I added, "And how can you adjust your affairs if you do not believe in the most Holy Trinity, if you hold our souls to be made of filth, and that all the operations of this world are guided by fate, as you told me before? You must first adjust your opinions, and then it will be easy for you to adjust the remainder; and for that, if you like, I offer you all the help I can give you, so that you may know that although you have shown yourself so wanting in faith to me, and so ungrateful for the courtesies which I have used towards you, at any rate I wish to be your friend in all things." To this he only answered by praying me to set him at liberty, and that if indeed he had his garments ready, and had told me he wished to depart, it was not with the thought of leaving, but to bridle my impatience for learning, with which I continually tormented him, and that if I set him free he would teach me all he knew, and that to me alone the secrets of his works should be intrusted, with many works still more marvellous and more beautiful, which he intended to write; and that he would be my slave, without any other recompense than what I had given him, and that if I wanted everything which he had in my house, he left it to me, and that he would be satisfied with a copy of a

little book of conjurations which I found amongst some of his written papers.

I desired to give account of all this to your most reverend Paternity, so that by adding it to the rest you may judge of the facts according to the wisdom of your judgment.

There are money, clothes, papers, and books of his, and these you will be pleased to dispose of; and since by your favour and charity you are pleased to overlook my offence in delaying this accusation, I pray you to be pleased to excuse it before those most illustrious lords in respect of my good intention, for I could not discover the whole at once, besides which, I did not know the depravity of this man until after I had kept him in the house it may be about two months, because after he came here he was for some time in lodgings in this city, but for the most part in Padua; and then I desired to get the advantage of him, and by his manner of proceeding I could also be assured that he would not have left me unawares; so that I have always promised myself to be able to make him submit to the correction of the Holy Office. This I have succeeded in doing, and with all thankfulness to your reverend Paternity for your very diligent care in this matter, I reverently kiss your hands.

From my house, 25th May 1592.

ZUANE MOCENIGO.

DOCUMENT III.

Fresh deposition of Giovanni Mocenigo with regard to Bruno, in continuation of the denunciations quoted above.

29th May 1592.

Since your most reverend Paternity requires me to recall with extreme carefulness all the sayings of

because I being a Catholic and he worse than a Lutheran, I could not endure him, he said, 'Oh, you will see what profit you will have from your belief!' and laughing, told me to wait for the judgment, when the dead should arise, 'and then you shall be rewarded according to your deeds.' And in another discourse he said that howsoever wise this Republic might be reputed in other matters, in the matter of the wealth of the friars, he, for his part, condemned the Venetians, who ought to do as they do in France, for the revenues of the monasteries should be bestowed upon the nobles, and the friars should live upon broth, and that in this manner all would be well; for those who turn friars nowadays are asses, in whom the enjoyment of such wealth is a very great sin. Besides,

Giordano Bruno against our Catholic faith; I remember to have heard him say, beside the things already written to your most reverend Paternity, that the Church in these times does not deal with men as the Apostles did, for they converted the people by preaching and by the example of good living; but that now he who will not follow the Catholic faith must be chastised and tormented; for they take men by violence, and not by love; that this world could not remain as it is the abiding-place of ignorance and without any religion that was good; that truly the Catholic religion pleased him much more than the others, but that it had great need of reform as well as they, and is not good as it is; but that the world would speedily bring about a general reform of its own, because it could not remain so corrupt; and that he hoped great things from the King of Navarre, and that he therefore desired to hasten his works that he might be well thought of, because he wished to be captain when the time came; and that he would not always remain poor, because he should enjoy the treasures of others. He also told me with regard to the want of know-

ledge of these days, that greater ignorance flourishes now than ever was in the world, because men say they know that which they do not understand, which is that God is one and triune, and that these are impossibilities, errors, and great blasphemies against the majesty of God.

And on my bidding him be silent, and that he would please to hasten in what he had to do for me, because I being a Catholic, and he worse than a Lutheran, I could not endure him, he said to me, "Oh! you will see how you will profit by your faith!" and he laughed and told me to wait for the judgment when the dead should arise, and I should then see the reward of the righteous.

All which I affirm to your reverend Paternity on my oath to be most true, and finally I humbly kiss your hands.

I also send you a book by the said Giordano, where I have noted a foul passage, as you can see, and you can place it under consideration with the rest.

From my house, 29th May 1592.—
From your most reverend Paternity's
very humble servant,

ZUANE MOČENIGO.

he told me that in the matter of marriage,¹ the Church committed a sin in making that a sin by which we render a service to Nature, and one which he thought of very great merit."

The accusations of Mocenigo may be taken as a measure alike of his capacity and of his character. When asked on the 3d June if he had had dealings with the evil spirit and had made profession of the black art, Bruno answered, "No; that he had ever despised such matters; but that he purposed to look for a solitary and quiet place (which he had not as yet discovered), and to study astrology at his leisure, in order to see if there was any truth in them, for it was the only science with which he had not as yet acquainted himself." Next day he was asked if he had an enemy in those parts of the country and for what reason; and in reply the unhappy prisoner shows that he knew by whom he was betrayed. "My only enemy," he answered, "is Ser Giovanni Mocenigo, who threatened my life and my honour, and that continually."

On his own showing, the Venetian enticed Bruno away from the comparative security of Germany with the intention of delivering him up to the terrors of the Inquisition. Avarice, too, seems to have had its share in the promptings of his shallow nature, if we may judge by the querulous and complaining tone of his evidence when it touches upon money. No sooner was his curiosity appeased, and his mind satisfied that all his expenses were in vain, than he rifled the baggage of the guest, for whom the sacred rites of hospitality were no protection, and gave him up to destruction.

Bruno, on his side, could not have been long in measuring the capacity of Mocenigo, and it is within our knowledge of the philosopher's outspoken and impetuous disposition that he should have permitted himself every freedom of speech before his dangerous pupil, who, with

¹ This statement is a perversion of the last verses of *De Immenso*.

the understanding of a child and the power of a malicious man, perverted the doctrines of his master, and took upon himself the office of executioner as soon as he saw his plan defeated for winning, by means of magic, that superiority which was denied to him by Nature. Once assured that no hope of magical interposition remained, he immediately put in action his plan, which, he said, was in his mind when he first invited Bruno to visit Venice, but which, no doubt, occurred to him only when he felt a desire to punish the Nolan because he was a philosopher instead of a magician. Thus it was reserved for this feeble son of a great house to set in motion the vast and terrific machinery of the Inquisition.

When, on the 21st May, Bruno waited upon his patron to take his leave, Mocenigo, stripped of his delusions, showed himself in his true colours. "He insisted upon it that I should remain," Bruno says in his evidence, "and I insisted that I must go; and he first began to complain that I had not taught him as much as I was under engagement to do, and he then threatened and said, if I would not remain willingly, he would force me to stay; and on the night of the day following, which was Friday, seeing that I persisted in my resolution, and that I had arranged my affairs and had taken measures to despatch what was mine to Frankfort, he came when I was in bed, under pretence of wishing to speak with me, and he was followed by his servant called Bartolo, with, if I mistake not, five or six others, who were, I believe, the gondoliers of persons living in that neighbourhood, and they forced me to rise from my bed and brought me to a garret, and locked me into it, Ser Giovanni himself saying that if I would remain and teach him the terms of the memory of words and the terms of geometry which he had required from me at the beginning, he would set me at liberty, otherwise a worse thing would befall me" (Doc. viii.) Bruno, however, insisted that he had taught all that was required of him, and that he had done nothing

deserving such treatment, and Mocenigo then bolted the doors upon him and quitted him.

On the day after, the 23d May, the traitor put the crowning touch to his work, sending his first denunciation to the Father Inquisitor. By an officer of the Inquisition, accompanied by a body of men, the prisoner was conducted to the lower parts of the house, and left in a storehouse until nightfall, when another officer appeared with his followers to convey the unhappy philosopher to the prisons of the Holy Office.

On the 25th May Mocenigo took his oath of confirmation before the Father Inquisitor, present in the Holy Office.¹ The trial at once began. On the 29th May Mocenigo made his third denunciation, instancing against Bruno his assertion that the Church in the time of the Apostles converted the people by preaching and by the example of a holy life, but that he who will not be a Catholic in these times is chastised and tormented, and used with violence instead of with love. Moreover, he stated, as one of the counts against Bruno, that the unfortunate philosopher foretold a reform in the Catholic Church, which reform he desired to hasten, as he intended to be captain and to enjoy the treasures of others.

Upon these counts the trial proceeded. The tribunal of the Inquisition consisted of the Father Inquisitor, Giovanni Gabrielli di Saluzzo; the Apostolic Nuncio in Venice, then Ludovico Taberna; the Patriarch of Venice, then Lorenzo Priuli; and lastly, one of the three noble members of the "*Savii dell' Eresia*," who attended the trial by turns as delegates of the Council of Ten, for whom they watched the proceedings of the Inquisition. These were Aloysio Foscari, Sebastian Barbadico, and Thomas Morosini.

¹ The Patriarchal palace, in which these examinations probably took place, adjoins the palace of the Doges, against the Bridge of Sighs. The Patriarch usually presided at

these trials, the last of which was held by the Inquisition in 1793. The prisons of the Holy Office were in the walls on the western side of the Bridge of Sighs.

The evidence of the witnesses was then taken. On the 26th May the bookseller Ciotto was examined, and on the 29th follows the deposition of Bertano, the bookseller of Venice.¹ While testifying to Bruno's learning and ability, they are both careful to guard themselves against any suspicion of consorting with a heretic, perhaps as much from a sense of self-preservation as from the desire, which they no doubt felt, to shield the prisoner as far as possible from the wrath of the Inquisition. "Never," says Ciotto, "did he give utterance to a word by which I might have doubted that he was a Catholic and a good Christian." This evidence is loyally supported by Bertano. "While with me, he did not say, nor have I perceived, anything whatever which is not Christian." Both librarians had made the acquaintance of Bruno in Frankfort, where the Catholic party placed no restriction on freedom of speech.

On the 29th May 1592 Bruno appeared before the Tribunal. He is described by Ciotto as a "small man, meagre, with a small black beard, about forty years of age." When conducted into the presence of the judges, he swore, with his hand upon the Scriptures, to speak the truth, and when, before his interrogation began, he was admonished to speak the truth, he cried of his own accord, "I will speak the truth. Many times I have been threatened with this Holy Office, and I have always taken the threat for a jest, for I am one ready to give account of myself."

A summary of the chief events of his life then follows, and his philosophy naturally mingles with the recital. On being questioned, he replies: "Being at Frankfort last year, I had two letters from the Signor Giovanni

¹ If the evidence of the bookseller Bertano is trustworthy (Doc. vii.), Bruno was in Frankfort at the Easter fair of 1589. Professor Sigwart, however, is disposed to think that Bertano was in error, as the year 1589 was spent by the Nolan in Helmstedt. There is, however, no reason apparent why he should not have paid a short visit to Frankfort in the spring of that year.

Mocenigo, a Venetian gentleman, in which he invited me to come to Venice, desiring, according to what he wrote to me, that I should teach him the art of memory and invention, promising to treat me well, and that I should be content with him ; and so I came about seven or eight months ago ; and I have taught him various terms relating to these two sciences, at first living elsewhere, and then with him in his own house ; and it appearing to me that I had done and taught him enough, and as much as I ought, of those things which he desired of me, and meditating a return to Frankfort to print some works of mine, last Thursday, in order that I might depart, I took leave of him ; and on this, suspecting that rather than go to Frankfort, as I said, I wished to leave his house in order to teach other persons the same sciences which I had taught to him and others, he entreated me with much earnestness to remain ; and I continually insisting that I would go, he first began to complain that I had not taught him as much as I had promised, and then to threaten me, by telling me that if I would not remain willingly, he would find a way to compel me to stay."

Bruno then gives the account of his capture already quoted, concluding with his arrival in the prisons of the Holy Office, "where I believe myself to have been brought by means of the said Ser Giovanni, who being angry, for the reason I have already given, has brought an accusation against me."

At the interrogation of his judges, he next repeats the story of his life :—

"My name is Giordano, of the family of Bruni, of the city of Nola, twelve miles from Naples. I was born and brought up in that city, and my profession was and is letters and the sciences. My father's name was Giovanni, and my mother Fraulissa Savolina, and my father was a soldier by profession ; he is dead, and my mother also. I am about forty-four years of age ; I was born, as far as I have heard, in May in the year '48 ; and

I remained in Naples acquiring learning, logic, and dialectics until I was fourteen; and I used to attend the public lectures of one who was called the Sarnese; and I went privately to learn logic from an Augustinian father called Fra Theophilo da Vairano, who afterwards taught metaphysics in Rome; and at about fourteen or fifteen years of age I took the habit of St. Dominic in the monastery or convent of St. Dominic at Naples, and was invested by a Father, who was then Prior of the convent, named Maestro Ambrosio Pasqua; and, the year of probation ended, I was admitted by himself to the profession, which I solemnly made in the same convent; and I do not think that any one else made profession at the same time, except a lay brother; and afterwards I was promoted to holy orders, and in due time to the priesthood; and I sang my first mass in Campagna, a town of the same kingdom, far from Naples, staying at the time in a convent of the same Order, dedicated to St. Bartholomew. And I continued in this habit of St. Dominic, celebrating mass and the divine offices, and under obedience to the superiors of the same religion, and to the Priors of the monasteries, and convents in which I was, until the year '76, which was the year following the year of the Jubilee, when, being in Rome, in the convent of the Minerva, under obedience to Maestro Sisto de Luca, Procurator of the Order, where I had gone to present myself because I had been proceeded against twice at Naples, first, for having given away certain figures and images of saints, retaining a crucifix only, whence it was imputed to me that I despised the images of the saints; and also for having said to a novice who was reading the *History of the Seven Joys* in verse, that he should rid himself of that, and rather read some other book, as the *Life of the Holy Fathers*. The which suit was renewed at the time that I went to Rome; with other articles which I do not know. For which reason I left a religious life, and, putting off the habit, went

to Noli, in the Genoese territory, where, by teaching grammar to boys, I supported myself for four or five months."

At the second examination of Bruno, he is required to say where he went when he left Noli, and in what parts, countries, towns, and places he was from then till this time, and how he was occupied, and what he did. To this he replies: "I remained at Noli, as I have said, about four months, teaching grammar to boys and reading astronomy with certain gentlemen; and then I left, and went first to Savona, where I remained about a fortnight, and from Savona to Turin, where, not finding entertainment to my satisfaction, I came by the Po to Venice, where I remained for a month and a half in the Frezzaria, lodging in the house of a man in the Arsenal, and I do not know his name; and whilst I was here I caused a certain small book, entitled *Of the Signs of the Times*, to be printed, and had this work printed to get a little money together to be able to support myself, the which work I first showed to the Reverend Father Maestro Renigio of Florence; and leaving this, I went to Padua, where, finding some fathers of the Dominican Order, acquaintances of mine, they persuaded me to wear the habit again, although I had not wished to return to a religious life; but it appeared to them more convenient to wear the habit than not; and with this intention I went to Bergamo, and had a gown made for myself of common white cloth, and over it I put the scapulary which I had kept when I left Rome, and in this habit I took the road for Lyons; and when I was at Chambéry, going to lodge at the convent of the Order, and seeing myself very coldly treated, and discoursing upon this with an Italian Father who was there, he said, 'Be warned, for you will find no sort of kindness in these parts, and the farther you go the less you will find;' therefore I turned towards Geneva, and on arriving there went to lodge at the inn; and shortly after the Marchese de Vico,

a Neapolitan, who was staying in that city, asked me who I was, and if I desired to remain and to profess the religion of that city ; to whom, after I had given account of myself, and of the cause for which I had left the religious life, I added that I did not intend to follow the creed of this city, because I did not know what religion it was ; and that therefore I rather desired to remain there, and to live at liberty and to be in a place of safety, than for any other reason, and being recommended in any case to put off that habit which I wore, I took those clothes and caused a pair of breeches to be made for myself, with other things, and the said Marquis, with other Italians, gave me a sword, a hat, a cloak, and other things necessary to clothe me, procuring these that I might be enabled to support myself and to correct for the printers, in which employment I remained about two months, going sometimes, however, to the preaching and sermons of such Italians and Frenchmen as taught and preached in that city. Many times, amongst others, I heard the readings and sermons of Nicolo Balbani of Lucca, who read the Epistles of St. Paul and preached the Gospels ; but being told that I could not remain there longer if I was not disposed to embrace the religion of the citizens, without doing which I had no more help to expect from them, I resolved to go away, and I went to Lyons, where I remained a month ; and not finding means of gaining sufficient to live by and for my needs, I went from there to Toulouse, where there is a famous school, and having made acquaintance with men of learning, I was invited to lecture to different scholars on the use of the globes and astronomy, which I did, and I delivered philosophical lectures for perhaps six months ; and meanwhile the place of ordinary lecturer on philosophy in that city, which is given by general vote, being vacant, I sought to take my degree, which I did as master of arts, and thus presented myself to the said general vote, and was admitted and approved, and afterwards I delivered

lectures in that city for two years continually on the text of Aristotle, *De Anima*, with other lectures on philosophy; and then,¹ because of the civil wars, I departed and went to Paris, where I proposed to give an extraordinary lecture to make a name for myself, and to show such powers as I had, and I gave thirty lectures on the thirty divine attributes from St. Thomas, from the first part; and then being desired to take an ordinary lectureship, I refused, and would not accept it, because the public lecturers of this city usually go to mass and to the other divine offices, and I have always avoided this, knowing that I was excommunicated because I left the religious life and put off the habit; for although in Toulouse I held that ordinary lectureship, I was not obliged to go to mass, as I should have been in the said city of Paris if I had accepted the said ordinary lectureship; and I acquired such fame by giving that extraordinary lecture, that King Henry III. had me called one day to ask me whether the memory which I had and which I taught was natural or came by magic arts; to whom I gave satisfaction, and he perceived, both by what I told him and by what I caused him to accomplish himself, that it was not by art magic, but by science; and after this I had a book printed *De Memoria*, under the title of *Umbris Idearum*, which I dedicated to his Majesty, and on this occasion he made me lecturer-extraordinary and a pensioner; and I continued to lecture in that city, as I have said, about five years, and because of the tumults afterwards, I took leave, and, with letters from the same King, I went to England to stay with his Majesty's ambassador, who was called the Sr. Della Malviciera, by name Michel de Castelnovo, in whose dwelling I did nothing, but passed for his gentleman. I remained two years and a half in England, not attending at this time also where mass was said in the house, nor going to mass out of doors, nor to sermons, for

¹ Here certain words are cancelled which imply that Bruno's departure was caused by private dissensions.

the aforesaid reason; and the ambassador returning to France to the court, I accompanied him to Paris, where I remained for another year, keeping company with those lords whom I knew, however at my own expense for the greatest part of the time; and leaving Paris because of the tumults, I went away to Germany. I went first to Mez alias Magonza (Mayence), which is an archiepiscopal city, and the first electorate of the empire, where I remained for twelve days; and not finding suitable entertainment there, or at Vispure (Würzburg), a place not far off, I went to Wittenberg in Saxony, where I found two factions, one of philosophers who were Calvinists, and the other of theologians who were Lutherans; and a doctor among the latter who was called Alberigo Gentile a Marchegiano, whom I had known in England, a professor of law, received me with kindness and presented me as lecturer on the *Organon* of Aristotle, and I gave other lectures on philosophy for two years, in which time the old Duke was succeeded by his son, who being a Calvinist and his father a Lutheran, began to favour the party opposed to those who favoured me, so that I went away, and went to Prague, and remained there six months, and whilst I was there I had a book on *Geometry* printed, which I presented to the Emperor, from whom I received a gift of three hundred thalers, and with this money I left Prague and remained for a year at the Julia Academy in Brunswick, where the death of the Duke (margin, "Who was a heretic,") occurring at this time, at his obsequies, together with many others of the university, I made an oration, for which his son and successor gave me eighty crowns of that place; and I departed and went to Frankfort to have two books printed, one *De Minimo*, and the other *De Numero, Monade, et Figura*, &c.; and in Frankfort I remained for about six months, lodging in the convent of the Carmelites, the place assigned to me by the printer, who was obliged to give me lodging; and from Frankfort, as I have said in my other examination, invited by Ser

Zuane Mocenigo, I came seven or eight months ago to Venice, where that which I have recounted in my other examination then took place, and I went again to Frankfurt, leaving this to have my other works printed, and one in particular on the *Seven Liberal Arts*, . . . hoping to obtain leave to resume the clerical habit without entering the religious life; and at this chapter held here during the past few days, where there were many Neapolitan fathers of the Order, I have spoken of this matter, in particular with Father Fra Domenico de Nocera, Father Fra Serafino, bachelor of arts, of Nocera, and with Fra Giovanni, of I know not what place, but he is from the kingdom of Naples, and with another, who also himself quitted the religious life, but a short while ago he resumed the habit; he is of Atripalda, but I do not know his name—in religion he is called Fra Felice; and besides these fathers I have spoken with Zuane Mocenigo, who also promised to help me in all things which were right.” He adds, “I have said that I wished to present myself at the feet of his Holiness with some of my approved works, having some others which I do not approve, meaning thereby to say, that there are certain works of mine composed by me and printed which I do not approve, because in them I have spoken and discoursed too philosophically, dishonestly, and not altogether as a good Christian; and in especial I know that in some of these works I have taught and held certain things philosophically which ought to be attributed to the power, wisdom, and goodness of God, according to the Christian faith, founding my doctrine upon sense and reason, and not upon faith; and this is for the generality, and for particulars I refer to my writings, for I do not now recall any precise article or particular doctrine which I may have taught, but I will reply according as I shall be questioned and as I shall remember.”

Being asked on the 2d of June, in presence of D. Sebastian Barbadico, if he had a memorandum of all

the books which he had printed, and if he remembered their subjects and doctrine, Bruno responded: "I have made a list of all those books which I have given to be printed, and also of those which I have composed and which are not yet printed, and which I was revising to give them to the press as soon as I should have opportunity, either at Frankfort or elsewhere, the which note and list is this.¹ . . . The subject of all these books, speaking generally, is philosophical matter, differing according to the titles of the said books; as may be seen in them all, I have always defined things philosophically, and according to natural principles and the light of Nature, not having regard chiefly to that which ought to be held according to the faith; and I believe that nothing can be found in them by which I can be condemned for professing rather to desire to attack religion than to exalt philosophy, although I may have uttered many impious things founded on my natural light."

Asked whether, publicly or privately, in the lectures given by him in different places, according to what he had said above in his other examinations, he had ever taught, held, or disputed any article contrary or repugnant to the Catholic faith, and according to the terms of the holy Roman Church, he replied: "I have taught nothing directly against the Christian Catholic religion, although I have done so indirectly, as was determined in Paris, where, however, I was permitted to hold certain disputations under the title of 'A Hundred and Twenty Articles against the Peripatetics and other Ordinary Philosophers,' printed by permission of the Superiors; and I was allowed to treat them according to natural principles, not prejudicing the truth according to the light of faith, in which fashion the books of Aristotle and Plato may be read and taught; for they in the same

¹ The list is not forthcoming at present, but was submitted, with other papers, to the supreme tribunal at Rome.

way are indirectly contrary to the faith—indeed, much more contrary than the articles philosophically propounded and defended by me, all of which may be known by what is printed in these last Latin books at Frankfort, called *De Minimo*, *De Monade*, *De Immenso et Innumerabilis*, and in part of *De Compositione Imaginum*; and in these books particularly may be seen my intention and what I have held, which is, in a word, that I hold that there is an infinite universe, which is the effect of the Infinite Divine Power, because I esteem it to be a thing unworthy of the Divine Goodness and Power that, being able to produce another world, and an infinite number of others beside this world, it should produce one finite world.” “With regard to the personality of the Holy Spirit, I stand,” he says, “within the boundaries of philosophy; and though I do not remember to have given in writing or in speech any sign that I do not hold these doctrines, I do not understand the Divine Spirit to be a Third Person, except in the manner of Pythagoras and of Solomon, as the soul of the universe or contributive (*assistente*) to the universe. From this Spirit, which is One, all being flows; there is one truth and one goodness penetrating and governing all things. In Nature are the thoughts of God. They are made manifest in figures and vestiges to the eye of sense; they are reproduced in our thoughts, where alone we can arrive at consciousness of true being. We are surrounded by eternity and by the uniting of love. There is but one centre, from which all species issue, as rays from a sun, and to which all species return. There is but one celestial expanse, where the stars choir forth unbroken harmony. In the circle, which comprehends in itself the beginning and the end, we have the figure of true being; and circular motion is the only enduring form of motion. From this Spirit, which is called the Life of the Universe, proceed the life and soul of everything which has soul and life,—the which life, however, I understand to be im-

mortal, as well in bodies as in their souls, all being immortal, there being no other death than division and congregation; which doctrine seems to be expressed in Ecclesiastes, where it is said nothing is new under the sun" (Doc. xi.)

This frank and manly avowal of his chief philosophic doctrines, added to the declaration that he had abstained from polemics, that he had made no public profession which was contrary to Catholic tenets, availed him nothing. If the errors of the age in which he was born were great, his own errors were even greater. To proclaim the rights of reason, to insist that in Nature "shines and will shine the divine intellectual sun," and to declare himself the herald of the truth at a time when superstition was blended with ignorance, was to incur the extreme penalty of the law; and, quoting his own words, he might have said, "I soon found that misfortunes were gathering thickly around me, and that I had committed myself to a perilous destiny, having built up for myself the walls of my own prison, and delivered myself up to my own ruin."

Many details with respect to his doctrines are contained in the long examination of Tuesday, the 2d of June. Of the miracles and death of Christ he says, "I have said that they bear witness to the Divinity, but a greater witness than these is the evangelical law." He gave an absolute denial to the question whether he had said Christ was an evil-doer, adding, "with an extreme sadness," "I know not how these things can be imputed to me. I hold that Christ was conceived by the Holy Spirit, and born of the Virgin Mary; and I will submit to any punishment if proof is given that I have said or taught the contrary." To the question if he had addicted himself to studies in theology, he answered that, having regard to philosophy, which was his profession, he had not laboured much in theology. With regard to his esteem for theologians, he appeals to his works, in which he

had handled Catholic theologians with great respect;¹ more particularly St. Thomas,² "whose works I have always by me, continually reading, learning, and approving them." He admits his study of heretic theologians, but asserts that he despises them and their works, "for they are not theologians, but pedants; and I have read their books from curiosity, not from desire to learn their doctrine; for I hold them to be more ignorant than myself."

To the question, "What things are necessary to salvation?" he gives the answer, "Faith, hope, and charity." Being asked if he had said that the miracles of Christ and the Apostles were miracles in appearance only, and that he could do as much and more, so that all the world should follow him, he raised both hands aloft and cried, "What thing is this? I have never said it, nor has it so much as passed through my mind."

It is evident from the tone of the next interrogation that the inquiry caused the prisoner to manifest distress, for he is desired by the Inquisitor in dignified but not unkind terms to submit to these questions, since the Holy Office is aware that he has spent much time in heretic countries and has had dealings with many heretics; and in addition, the Holy Office finds it easy to believe that such statements are not incompatible with the philosophy of which he has made confession. He is then exhorted "to unburden his conscience and to tell the truth, and

¹ He insists upon (W. i. 27) 'the friendliness which should subsist "between learned theologians and learned philosophers;" and in numerous other passages the same views are advanced.

² Although deprived of his papers by Mocenigo, Bruno must have been permitted access to them, or he could scarcely quote the passages necessary for his defence. He appeals, for instance, to page 89 of his book

on the *Monad* to prove his high esteem for Thomas Aquinas, the Angelic Doctor, whom he calls (note to page 6) "the honour and the light of all and every sort of theology, and in especial of the peripatetic philosophy." And he also mentions a passage on page 19 of the *Infinity* supporting the doctrine of good works as taught by the Catholic Church.

to expect that the tribunal will extend to him every sort of kindness possible, necessary, and expedient for the salvation of his soul."

The peril in which he stood seems at last to have dawned upon this undaunted spirit. "As God shall pardon me my sins, so I have spoken truth in all things; but for my greater satisfaction, I will once more consider my life, and if I have said or done anything against the Christian and Catholic faith, I will confess it openly; and I have said that which is just and true, and will say it."

Once more, on the 4th of June 1592, the relation of the trial having been read over to him, Bruno was adjured to add to his evidence, or to take from it, if it contained any facts which he was unable to confirm. To this he responded that he had nothing to add and nothing to take away, and that he confirmed his evidence as it stood.

Three weeks elapsed before a further hearing took place. On the 23d June, Andrea Morosini was called upon to give his evidence. In all the Italian cities, and especially in Venice, men of learning were in the habit of congregating once or twice a week in the leading houses of the town to discuss such questions as are now made public in the press. Two of these gatherings were famous in Venice: the one assembled in the house of Bernardo Secchini, a merchant, at the sign of the Golden Ship in the Merceria; the other was held by Andrea Morosini, the historian, living in the division of San Luca, upon the Grand Canal. "He was sought out," says the anonymous biographer of Fra Paolo Sarpi, "not only by men of letters and by the nobles, but by every man of learning, both secular and religious, native not only to Venice and to Italy, but to every other nation." The evidence of this distinguished Venetian is short and to the purpose. Bruno, having been brought to the assembly by means of the librarian Ciotto, had confined himself

to reasoning upon philosophy, and Morosini (perhaps with as much regard for his own safety as for that of the prisoner) asserts persistently that had he thought Bruno other than a good Catholic, he would not have been permitted to enter the assembly ;¹ adding, that his reasoning was always upon letters, nor was it on any occasion evident that he professed opinions contrary to the faith.

The librarian Ciotto is next recalled in order to confirm the fact that Bruno actually intended to present his book on the *Seven Liberal Arts* to the Pope, and thus to make his peace with the Church.

This disclosure, however, did not dispose the hearts of the Inquisitors to mercy.

On the 30th July Bruno was again brought before his judges. He repeated that he remained by his evidence ; that he had already negotiated with a Roman nuncio and with a Jesuit father respecting his reconciliation with the Church, and that it was his sole desire to be permitted to live for philosophy and to be free from the monastic rule. He had composed a work on the *Seven Liberal Arts*,² which he desired to present as a peace-offering to the new Pope, in the hope of leading a studious life in Rome. He repented of all he had done wrong, and of his errors in thought and in teaching ; he would for the future abstain from wrong-doing, and he desired to comply with what might be judged expedient for the salvation of his soul. He still clung to the hope of convincing the Inquisitors that he had always felt remorse in his conscience and desire to return to the Church, though he adds frankly that he sought to avoid the bonds of regular obedience, and that he was actuated by no motives "except fear of the rigour of the Holy Office and love of liberty."

He repeated his declaration that he was sorry for what

¹ It is a fact significant of the power of the Inquisition that the history of Venice written by Morosini preserves silence regarding the trial and death of Bruno.

² The *Seven Liberal Arts* comprehended the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium*: grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics ; arithmetic, mathematics, astronomy, and music.

he had done wrong, and for what he had thought or taught falsely; that he would follow all things necessary for the salvation of his soul; if he had given scandal, he would atone for it by the life he intended to lead in future. This has been called a recantation, but—as has been pointed out by Professor Carriere in his appreciative notice of the trial—it is, in truth, no more than an entreaty for pity and pardon, which might occur to any Christian man in extremity, and which might be repeated by any thinker without implying that he had abated or retracted a single conviction.

CHAPTER XI.

“ Touch me, O God, and I shall be as it were a flame of fire.”

BRUNO, *Hymn to his own Soul.*

The Trial at Rome. The Death of Bruno.

THE records of Bruno's trial, together with his books and manuscripts, were at once despatched to Rome, in deference to the orders of the Tribunal in the Papal city, which was extremely jealous in exercising the supreme authority. Application was then made, on the 17th September 1592, by Cardinal di San Severina, in the name of the supreme tribunal of the Holy Office at Rome, for the delivering up of Giordano Bruno to the Governor of Ancona. Here, however, difficulties arose. The Italian states were involved in innumerable quarrels with the court of Rome; and Venice, though prudent and pliant to a fault in matters temporal, felt herself bound to offer a check to all spiritual aggressions. Moreover, Rome had been sacked and Florence conquered, but Venice, having preserved her independence, prided herself on being regarded by all as a city of refuge. Men of letters from Rome, patriots from Florence, and fugitives on religious questions flocked to the protection of the Republic when the gates of their native city were closed upon them for ever. The quarrel between the two cities was exasperated by the conduct of the officers employed upon the Index, who, enjoying the profits of Roman printing-offices, took care to place as many publications

of their neighbours under interdict as possible. The large trade of the Venetian booksellers was crippled by this jealous and unjust supervision; and a thousand other small differences arose to make the relation between the two states one of hatred and constraint. The Pope demanded that all spiritual offenders should be delivered up to him; the officers of the Republic answered that they would not yield one hair's-breadth from the fundamental laws of their state, which had been handed down to them by their ancestors, and which it was the sacred duty of the Republic to keep inviolate.

Accordingly it was not until eleven days later that the application of Cardinal San Severina was conveyed by the Venetian members of the Tribunal to the Doge, and by him remitted for further consideration. A second visit from the Father Inquisitor to the secular authorities elicited the reply that the matter was of moment and demanded consideration; that the occupations of this state were many and grave; that the *Savii* could not as yet arrive at a resolution; concluding with a significant recommendation to his Reverence to dismiss a boat in waiting at Ancona to convey the prisoner to Rome.

It is possible that Bruno's promise of amendment and his longing for reconciliation with the Church might have availed towards sparing a life devoted to learning, which was always dear to Venice, had the Republic remained staunch to its first decision of giving him trial within Venetian precincts. But this was not to be. The jealousy between Rome and Venice was running high, and a serious rupture might be looked for at any moment. Under these circumstances a policy of conciliation involving no large sacrifice was naturally welcome to the Republic, which, like a coquette, played with the surrender, making much ado to relinquish that which in reality cost her nothing, and astutely proposing later in the political game to appeal to her own

sacrifices in order to extort as much and more from her rival.

The next step was to procure the assistance of the law. Ferigo Contarini, a procurator, was consulted as to the propriety of yielding up Bruno to the Church, and he gave the advice required. "His errors," said this officer of the law,— "His errors in heresy are very grave, though for the rest he possesses a most excellent rare mind, with exquisite learning and wisdom."

The lawyer finds in the following terms: "That this friar was a foreigner and no subject, and was not, therefore, entitled to the protection of Venice; that he was first accused and detained at Naples for a grievous transgression in heresy; that having escaped and fled to Rome, he was there tried and imprisoned for the same and other offences: and that his trial having been begun in Naples and in Rome some seventeen years earlier, ought in justice to be brought to a termination in those dominions."

The next count in the indictment sets forth that, escaping again a second time from those prisons, he sailed into England, "*where he lived according to the custom of that island*;" after which he is pronounced to have led "a licentious and diabolical life in heretic countries;" and "finally, leaving Geneva, he came to Venice, and took refuge in the house of a gentleman, who, to acquit himself of his duty as a Christian, made the friar known to the Holy Tribunal." It having been judged expedient that he should return and be judged where he had first offended, the position is strengthened by the unfounded assertion that he had "prepared a writing by which it seems he will be pleased to be remitted to the justice of Rome." In this manner Bruno's innocent assertion that he desired to present a book to the Pope and to make his peace with Rome was twisted into an admission that he had appealed to the Papal tribunal. It was therefore thought proper, "in order to satisfy the Pope," that Bruno

should be delivered up to Rome. Like St. Paul, he had appealed to Cæsar; at the seat of Cæsar he should appear to look for judgment. The lawyer's indictment ends with a characteristic entreaty that his evidence may be kept a profound secret, for "public and private reasons:" and he is then dismissed by the Doge, with praises for care and adroitness.

The decree of consent is carefully worded. Having regard to the fact that the case was extraordinary, the accused a Neapolitan who had broken loose from prison, and who had to undergo his trial for heresy both in Naples and in Rome, it is agreed that, in order to please the Pope, Fra Giordano Bruno shall be handed over to the Tribunal of the Inquisition at Rome. That all the capital possible might be made out of the event, the Venetian ambassador in Rome is further directed to impress upon the mind of his Holiness the respectful filial obedience of Venice, and the readiness of the Republic to do his pleasure in this matter. The decree is dated January 7, 1593.¹

On the 16th of the month the Pope returned such hearty thanks for this consent, that it might have been a meritorious action; and here the Venetian trial closes. Towards the middle of January Bruno was given up to the Papal Nuncio in Venice. On the 27th February 1593 he entered the prisons of the Inquisition in Rome; and we approach the period of darkness in which the remainder of his life was passed. There is nothing to tell us of with what hopes and fears the prisoner quitted the Venetian *piombi*, in which he had spent eight months, in order to make his journey to Rome under safe convoy. We may believe his statement that he was not afraid of the Inquisition, to which he had given no offence; and we may also believe that he took courage, and hoped for

¹ It was signed by the same Doge, professorship of mathematics at Pasquale Cicogna, who some months before had appointed Galileo to the Padua.

justice from the Pope, trusting to move him to pardon more easily than the Venetian inquisitors, and looking for recognition as a philosopher who esteemed the light of reason to be on a par with the light of faith. He may have hoped, too, that his learning and goodwill might save him, since he had long determined to go of his own free-will to Rome, and to make his peace with the Church. But it would be an act of injustice to imagine that he was actuated by hypocrisy or base desire of denial.

Convinced that it was the unceasing labour of philosophy to raise the mind of man to God by bending all the forces into the pursuit of wisdom, he was unable to realise that the Church was more chary in tolerance than himself. He looked with sorrow upon his rupture with Rome, and welcomed any means of reconciliation which did not bring him under the yoke of monkish tyranny. It is clear from his history that no form of Protestantism was agreeable to him; he embraced no other religion, nor did he love any so well as the Church in which he was nurtured. The speeches at Wittenberg and in Helmstedt, in which he pronounced a panegyric upon Luther, were dictated by the gaiety of rhetoric, and were not the mature and deliberate utterances of the philosopher. The basis of evangelic teaching, that Heaven is to be won by faith instead of by works, he invariably combated with asperity. In the same manner, his desire for reform must not be construed as an attack upon the Church; for he is completely justified when saying that in no part of his works had he expressly censured any Catholic dogma. He no longer approved certain of his writings, as he said at his trial; but he had examples and to spare before his eyes showing that a measure of freedom in philosophic thought was allowed even in the Church so long as her specific teaching was not directly attacked.

On entering life he had to reckon with it, and the struggle continued to the end. What consolation he drew

from the fact that in running counter to all prejudice he was following the dictates of that "high spirit which whispered in his inward ear" will never now be known. Of a restless and passionate spirit, loving life and the society of men, in the flower of his age and full vigour of mind, he was suddenly separated from all human companionship.

He, however, who looked steadily through the gates of death upon the hope of immortality, was not curbed or humbled, though a prisoner in a cell to be exchanged for one yet narrower, without books, deprived of pen and paper, with all wonted solace of society and occupation gone. The Pope no doubt extended the term of his imprisonment to an unusual length in the hope of breaking his spirit and of avoiding the scandal attending the execution of a monk. It was not until January 14, 1599, that eight heresies propounded in the works of the unfortunate philosopher, and extracted from his evidence at his trial, were laid before the Congregation of the Inquisition by a commission appointed to inquire into the case, and it was resolved that they should be communicated to the prisoner in order that he might consider whether he would abjure them as heresies.

It is remarkable that although Bruno had spent six years almost to a day in Rome, this document is worded as though his formal trial had only then begun. Scioppius, whose relations with Cardinal Madrucci were close and intimate, believed Bruno to have been in prison two years only. Every trace of information fails from the beginning of 1593 to the beginning of 1599. Year by year passed by; no sentence was delivered; nor is it apparent that the choice between abjuring and death by fire was offered to the prisoner. This long suffering on the part of the Holy Office is without precedent.

Bruno's name is first on a list of twenty fellow-sufferers made on Monday, April 5, 1599. The greater number remained in confinement only a few months; one alone

remained more than nine months ; for it was the custom of the Holy Office in serious cases to administer speedy justice. If the doctrines held by the Church to be heretical were only indicated to Bruno in 1599, how had he been treated in the six long years that had passed ? To test his printed works and his manuscripts, and to question and re-question him on all points of dissent from the Church, could scarcely occupy six years unless matters were purposely deferred.

The Congregation of the Roman Inquisition, in whose hands the fate of Bruno lay, consisted of " Cardinals Madrucci Ludovico, Santorio Giulio Antonio (San Severina), Deza Pietro, Pinelli Domenico, Berneri Girolamo, Sfondrati Paolo Emilio, Borghese Camillo, and Arigoni Pompeo, assisted by their counsellors Dandini, Beccaria, Millini, Fragagliolo, Bellarmine, Filonardo, Monterenzi, and Flaminio Adriani, the notary."

In the absence of the full records of the trial, now preserved in Rome, it is impossible to denote the heresies which Bruno was called upon to abjure ; but that they were not altogether founded on the accusations of Mocenigo is clear from the examination in Venice, where it appears that the Inquisition scarcely thought it worth while to notice a great part of the charge, although in the recapitulation of the trial by Scioppius he repeats part of the denunciation word for word, and it must, therefore, have been read over in the final scene of the trial. The accusations were probably based on the prisoner's unsoundness in the matter of the Trinity, with his impenitent and stubborn determination to place philosophy on the same footing with theology.

The charge was then submitted to the prisoner, who was no doubt once more directed to probe his conscience and to discover what further evils he had to admit. His position, however, was unchanged. " All matters," he says, in what Hennequin called " the justificatory harangue," pronounced in Paris,— " All matters concerning

civil and religious law should be divided from matters belonging to pure science and cosmology;" and with singularly characteristic affection he appealed to his hope of a union with religion, dwelling continually on the then baseless fabric of reconciliation between the opposing powers of theology and philosophy. When he put off the habit of a monk in Rome, he had kept his scapulary. He had attended the confessional of a Jesuit priest at Toulouse when he might have been supposed to be indifferent to the sacraments, and he had declared his belief in transubstantiation when in the same breath frankly avowing to his judges that, philosophically speaking, he could not accept the doctrine of the Trinity. In every age men have loved to avenge their God better than to forgive their enemies, and Bruno had little mercy to expect from the fang of the "ravening wolf" which he had publicly apostrophised as having its seat in Rome; while his offer of dedicating a book to the Pope was but a sop to the "three-headed monster," so stigmatised by the philosopher in Wittenberg. Rome itself was suffering from a dual control. The people were ranged on one side, religious authority was on the other. "The nearer a nation is to Rome," Machiavelli wrote in 1500, "the more impious are the people;" and in truth Rome coveted no title to Christianity so much as to be called the capital of the republic of letters (W. ii. 164). The Romans were without respect for their most sacred institutions. Before the breath was out of the body of Paul IV., the people had risen like one man. They broke open the prisons of the Inquisition, burnt the house of the Grand Inquisitor, who narrowly escaped with his life, and to show their hatred of their master they tore down the escutcheons of his arms from the public edifices, and seizing his statue, they broke it into pieces, and rolled his head into the Tiber, amid the groans and curses of the bystanders. Nor was the example of those high in authority likely to lead to better results on the part of the people.

Sixtus V. saw the soul of Pope Gregory in a dream enduring the torments of hell; and, in what has been called by Rabelais, "the most monkish city of all monkery," it was once the custom, according to Montaigne, for the Pope, when at mass in St. Peter's, to drink from the chalice by means of an instrument which was a precaution against poison; while to this day the vicegerent of God is believed by the Romans to possess the evil eye.

"The Court of Rome," writes Cardinal D'Ossat (*Letters*, tom. v. p. 22, Amsterdam, 1708), "is a school of dissimulation." "If," said Casaubon in reply to Scioppius, who had called him an atheist,—"If I were an atheist I should now be at Rome, whither I have been often invited."

The then occupant of the pontifical throne, Ippolito Aldobrandini, had assumed the name of Clement VIII. Born in exile, the son of a homeless fugitive, he was early schooled by the excellent uses of adversity, and turned the rising fortunes of four clever and distinguished brothers to such advantage, that he ascended the chair in the full vigour of life. He had scope to exercise his talents in controversy, for a quarrel having broken out between the Dominicans and the Jesuits on the question of free-will, appeal was made to the Sovereign Pontiff, and the qualities which had been turned to such excellent account in the conversion of Henry IV. of France were once more in requisition to bind up the wounds which were lacerating the fair estate of the Catholic Church. Courageous and far-sighted, he did not turn aside the influence of the Papacy to his own selfish purposes, nor, by exalting himself above the law, set the first example of breaking it; but perceiving that the moment had arrived for the Pope to identify himself with his sacred office, his personal inclinations and advantage were forced into compliance with the spirit of the times; and since human institutions are strong only so long as they and the living possessors of power are in harmony, the power of the Papacy was greatly enhanced in the posses-

sion of a Pope whose sole intention was to efface himself in his pontificate, and to assume a demeanour befitting the ideal head of the Church. Under the sway of this prudent and politic ruler the Papacy gradually rose to the high and holy offices of peace and mediation among nations. But the Inquisition, in which, with blood for cement, union between the children of the faith was initiated, received no check at the hands of Clement VIII.

The ancient Dominican Inquisition had fallen into decay, but out of its ashes sprang the wonted fires of persecution, and under the sway of Caraffa in Spain the lagging genius of terrorism was not suffered to go astray, but was even directed upon the capital of Christendom. "As it was in Rome," says Caraffa, "that St. Peter overcame the first heresiarchs, so must the followers of Peter subdue all the heresies of the world in Rome." The founder of the Jesuits supported this proposition by an express memorial to the Cardinal Inquisitors. Authority was given to them over every individual, without any exception, and without regard to any rank or dignity. They had full power to imprison the suspected, and to punish the guilty with death and confiscation. But, like the Abbot of Battle, who, says Fuller, "carried a pardon in his presence," the Pope had the right of remitting capital punishment, though this right was accorded to no other human being. The Inquisitors had a mission "to contrive and to execute everything that could tend to suppress the errors that had broken out in the Christian community, and to pluck them up by the roots;" and the Society looked with a jealous eye upon the privileges of their order. Strong bolts and locks, with dungeons, chains, and bonds, and all the hideous appliances of the Tribunal, set a guard upon the lambs in the fold, and marked the fearful office of the potentates who, calling themselves messengers from the God of Love, had had the assumption to copy the mien of the Good Shepherd.

Persecution and terror now broke out in Italy on every

side. The mutual hatred of factions came in aid of the Inquisitors. Denunciations mounted up; and disappearance, as deadly as the stroke of doom, followed upon each denunciation. "It is hardly possible," exclaims Antonio dei Pagliarici, "for a man to be a Christian and to die in his bed."

The Tribunal of the Roman Inquisition comprised a Congregation of cardinals under the personal leadership of the Pope. That part of the terrible body before which Bruno was condemned to appear consisted of fifteen members and a notary. Of these, Madrucci was Inquisitor-in-chief, and next to him in influence stood San Severina. Of all the cardinals, Santorio, who had the title of San Severina, might be regarded as the most zealous Catholic. Even in his youth he had fought out many a battle with the Protestants at Naples. In his autobiography, which is extant in MS., he speaks of the massacre of St. Bartholomew as "the celebrated day of St. Bartholomew, most joyful to the Catholics." He had always professed violent opinions, and he had long been the soul of the Inquisition.

Not the least inflexible of this stern assembly, nor the least distinguished in learning, was the litigious Cardinal Bellarmine. It was he who said that, as the spirit guides and governs the flesh and not the flesh the spirit, so the secular power should not dare to exalt itself above the spiritual, or attempt to guide, to order, or to restrain it, since it was absurd for the sheep to attempt to guide the shepherd. With due regard also to the temporal comforts of the shepherd, Bellarmine maintained that, as belonging to the family of Christ, the priest should be exempt from all burdens on person and property. Such was the uncompromising and hostile figure to whom Bruno's case in its legal aspect was intrusted. As the contriver of numberless controversial works, and the writer of an enormous book in folio upon the heresies¹

¹ With the discretion for which the trial of Bruno is passed over by the Roman Church is remarkable, these volumes in silence.

of his time, he was entitled to judge a case of pure error in faith, and it may be conjectured that the cause of the Church lost nothing in his hands.

To Clement VIII. the logical error of punishing spiritual offences by bodily pains was not apparent. The monk who had abandoned the Order of St. Dominic was an apostate; but in order to fall under the jurisdiction of the Holy Office he ought to have been proved not an apostate as a monk alone, but as a Catholic. This fact has never been proved against Bruno. Neither England, Geneva, nor the German universities can claim him as a disciple in religion. In Marburg, as in Paris, he did not relinquish the title of doctor in Roman theology. He never ceased to cherish the hope that he might be reconciled to the Church. When he came into collision with the authorities of the Inquisition, with Aristotle and Ptolemy, and with the traditions of the schools, he proclaimed before those who looked upon themselves as guardians of divine truth a belief more spiritual than their faith, a God not to be measured by the eye of sense, and dwelling in a vaster temple than the mind of man had hitherto conceived. He believed in the reality of the unseen, in the existence of the unknown. The crystal was not yet discovered with which Galileo searched the skies, but, like Columbus, Bruno proclaimed the New World while the company of men laughed him to scorn. The day had not yet dawned when his theories were to become demonstrations in the hands of Kepler, Huygens, Newton, and Herschel; and meanwhile, because he proclaimed the movement of the earth amid countless orbs, which are flaming heralds of the Almighty, and because he demanded freedom for the spirit of man, the courageous thinker lay under the stigma of atheism. "Is he," says his biographer Bartholmæss, "an atheist who protests unceasingly against materialism, or who considers the world to be the image and likeness of God? who declares that in all

things there dwells an individual living Unity, a Presence perfect and beloved, a Father of men and a Father which is in heaven? Is he an atheist who admits a moral law, and who perceives in the whole universe the presence of a Legislator whose thoughts appear in laws beyond the scope of our finite senses? Is he an atheist who looks upon the world and sees it filled to overflowing with causes which are essential and unvarying? and in the fabric of the stars, as in the action of the mind, perceives but one Source and Maker, who is a Spirit?"

A second decree, dated 4th February 1599, followed quickly upon the order of the 14th January. The assembly which was once more called upon to decide the fate of Bruno counted among its members a number of cardinals, with Madrucci and San Severina again at their head, and among others Bellarmine and the General of the Order of the Dominicans, Ippolita Maria Beccaria. The Congregation was presided over by the Pope in person, by whom it was enacted that the eight heresies pointed out in the works of Bruno by Cardinal Bellarmine and by the Father Commissary, should be acknowledged by the prisoner as heresies, "and not as heresies now and for the first time declared, but as heresies known to the Fathers, to the Church, and to the Apostolic chair, and if acknowledged, good; if not, a further term of forty days should be granted."¹ We have no clue to Bruno's demeanour under this pressure. It was used to move him to full submission to the doctrines of the Church and to unconditional surrender of his philosophy. A course of advice and persuasion, perhaps even of torture, was

¹ Hence it is clear that the prisoner sheltered himself under the plea advanced by him in Venice, that he was the interpreter of dogmas approved by the Church, and supported by her oldest and soundest traditions. His appeals to the authority of St. Augustine respecting the persons of the Trinity were no doubt repeated in Rome. Religion, he be-

lieved, concealed beneath the veil of symbolism the truths taught by philosophy; and he thought himself justified in following closely upon Cusa, Lully, the Catalonian monk, in their philosophic rendering of religious dogmas, while expecting to enjoy the liberty accorded to cardinals and friars in more ancient times.

administered to induce him to recant, and thus to avoid the scandal of condemning as a heretic a priest of the Order whose pride it was to be guardians of the sheep-fold and "dogs of the Lord." How the Dominican Order was satisfied to represent the final catastrophe as an impossibility was proved by their historian, Echard,¹ who asserts that the Order could not bring forth an arch-heretic, as though Luther were not an Augustinian, nor Ochino a Capuchin.

Bruno's final refusal to admit that he had taught or held any heresies is easy to understand, since he believed himself, as a philosopher, to be independent of the dogmas of the Church; and since, too, he held that a doctrine could not be declared a heresy which was propounded from a purely philosophical standpoint. He seems to have met the accusations of the Congregation with manly candour, and to have sacrificed to the immortal spirit all that was mortal without flinching. The treacherous thought may have stolen upon him that he was suffering for a mere quibble; and out of the wreckage of his philosophy he might with ease have fashioned a spar that, with the Pope's clemency, would have saved his life. Had he permitted himself to intimate a doubt upon the rights of reason, it would have been welcomed with alacrity by those who desired but to cause him to return to the paths of salvation and to see him partake once more in the means of grace.

But it is clear that Bruno gave no sign of any disposition to gratify the Congregation, for, as a sheep of the fold, they must have preferred to grant him his life and to set him at liberty. He was suffered to pine in prison for seven years, and in all details we are restricted to pure conjecture, for the acts of the Inquisition at present forthcoming do not reveal any trace of the trial beyond

¹ "Was ever a heretic more severely treated," he writes, "than Bruno by the Dominicans? whence I infer that he was never one who wore our habit."

the record of the decisions of the Tribunal. From the letter of Scioppius (Appendix) it appears that the prisoner remaining unmoved, a second term of forty days was granted; "and all the while his design was to trifle with the Pope and the Inquisition." On the same authority he is made to recant and to persist in a breath, which was scarcely more consistent than the story of the historian Echard.

At last, on the 21st of December 1599, on the occasion of a visitation made to the prisoners lying in the dungeons of the Inquisition, the answer of Bruno is placed on record. With a spirit not broken by silence and torture, nor by hope deferred, and being more weary of delay than of death, he said, "That he ought not to recant, and he will not recant; that he had nothing to recant, nor any reason to recant, nor knew what he should recant."

The court now began to waver in the hope of conquering this obdurate heretic and of sparing the open scandal which would be caused by his execution. Certain officers were told off to make a last attempt to turn him from his errors, and to cause him to abjure. But the efforts of the General of the Dominican Order, Ippolito Maria Beccaria, and of his vicar, Paul di Mirandola, were steadfastly repelled by the prisoner, who, in no doubt as to what must be the result, silently awaited his end.

At a session presided over by the Pope on the 20th of January of the next year, the General reported that Brother Jordanus had made no recantation, but maintained, on the contrary, that his opinions had been ill-interpreted by the ministers of the Holy Office, he not professing any sort of heresy. With this a memorial addressed by Bruno to the Pope was received and opened, but it was not read; and on the same day (20th January) the Pope decreed that the prisoner should be delivered over to the temporal power.

On the 8th February¹ the Congregation assembled once more in the palace of the Chief Inquisitor, Cardinal Madrucci. The presence of the Governor of Rome marked the sinister intervention of the temporal power. Bruno was led from the prison in Santa Maria della Minerva, where, scarcely eighteen years before, he sought refuge from the persecution then on foot against him in Naples, and he was conducted into the presence of his judges, where he heard the reading of his sentence on his knees. It began in the usual form, by enumerating the titles of the cardinals "specially commissioned by his Holiness our lord Clement VIII. to act as Inquisitors-General against heretical pravity throughout the whole of Christendom."

The history of his life and the tenor of his studies and doctrine were next recounted, and what diligence the Inquisition had used in converting and fraternally admonishing him, and with what pertinacity and impiety their efforts had been rejected by him. He was then declared an apostate from the Order of the Preachers, a heretic, impenitent and pertinacious. He was degraded²

¹ The documents of the Inquisition give Tuesday, February 8, as the day on which sentence was passed and Bruno delivered up to the temporal power. Scioppius and the *Arvisti di Roma* agree in declaring the day to have been Wednesday, February 9. Carnesecchi of Florence, who was committed to the flames for "obstinate and pertinacious heresy" in Rome in 1567, received his sentence on August 16, 1567, and on the 21st September the sentence was published openly before the people. Judgment was delivered upon Bruno probably, therefore, on the 8th of February, and on the 9th the sentence was published in the venerable Church of the Blessed Mary above the Minerva. In the Piazza di Minerva religious executions were

formerly held. The eastern side of the square is dominated by the church, to which a convent of Dominicans is attached; and on this spot it was the custom to publish openly before the people sentences passed by the Inquisition. This solemn proclamation was made in the presence of a court of the Congregation of the Holy Office, assisted by the secular Governor of Rome.

² In the registry of the expenses of the general Pontifical depository administered by Signor Guiseppe Guistiani, from April 1, 1599, to July 3, 1600, the following entries occur:—

Il Vescovo di Tidomi (Sidonia?),	
for the degradation of Brother	
Cipriano dei Cruciferi . . .	27 scudi.
Giordano Bruno, heretic . . .	27 scudi.

and handed over to the secular arm. The formal sentence ran thus:¹—

“Because that you, a priest and nurtured in the Holy Catholic Church, not having any esteem for the unspeakable truth of the Holy Catholic faith, nor any reverence for the authority of the Holy and Apostolic Church of Rome, and without consideration for that state of life into which you were called, have wandered from the straight path of true salvation and have fallen into sundry heresies contrary to the said holy faith, holding and believing many various heretical and unsound opinions. . . . Wherefore it being expedient to make progress and to despatch your cause, a certain time was allotted to you for making every preparation possible in your defence; and you were permitted a copy of the necessary legal proceedings, and the time allotted to you was prolonged. But you have failed to bring forward any plea in your defence or to prove that your first confessions made before this tribunal, and confirmed by abundant evidence, were in any particular erroneous or false; and after your cause had been brought forward and investigated in our General Congregation, we, being anxious to show compassion toward you (notwithstanding the clear exhibition of your obduracy), determined on proceeding with some forbearance; and hence, in addition to the repeated warnings given you by word of mouth and in writing, we caused you to be admonished by our officials once or twice in a general manner, and that other definite periods should be appointed for you to consider and reflect upon your cause, and to make such amends as you were bound to render in compliance with your duty, in order that you might be received into the bosom of the Holy Church, provided that you should say and solemnly declare that you were

¹ The form employed by the officials of the Inquisition in pronouncing sentence will be found in a highly interesting edition of the MS. trial of Pietro Carnesecchi, pub-

lished by Dr. Richard Gibbings in Dublin in 1856. See also Masini, *Sacro Arsenale o Practica del Sant' Offizio*, as quoted by Berti in his *Life of Bruno*, pp. 291, 292.

willing to refer yourself to the judgment and decision of his Holiness and of us. . . . And it appearing to be now no longer the time for delaying the despatch of this affair; *We*,—having fully examined and deliberated on the testimony you have given, and the legal procedure and the aforesaid errors and heresies; and you having first been summoned at the suit of our fiscal, to receive sentence, this, your cause, has been propounded and scrutinised; and we, paying attention to the powers committed to us principally by our lord the Pope with reference to the review of causes belonging to our tribunal, and being therefore desirous of arriving at such a conclusion as justice requires—having invoked the most holy name of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the glorious Virgin Mary, from the countenance of whom come forth right judgments, and by whom the eyes of arbiters behold the truth, in this cause and these causes pending in the Holy Office, between the illustrious Master on the one side, and you on the other side, who have been (distinctively) arraigned and prosecuted, and have admitted charges, and been found criminal,—by this conclusive sentence which we issue in this writ, *Pronounce, adjudge, determine, and declare* that you have been a heretic, one who confided in heretics and who was their abettor and entertainer severally, and that you have consequently become amenable to the decisions, censures, and penalties, legal and ecclesiastical, imposed upon such-like offenders by the sacred canons, laws, and ordinances, general as well as special. And having regard to obstinate resistance to the acknowledgment of the truth, and the obduracy manifested by you in numerous instances, and your established continuance in errors, and intercourse with heretics, and your hopeless depravity, you have not improved nor reformed; and persuaded that for these reasons the Holy Office can place no further confidence in you, nor have any assurance that you have really and unfeignedly repented, nor expect

the slightest amendment in you. On this account we accordingly declare and adjudge that you are an impenitent heretic, a dissembling convert, and debased ; and that by the very law you are deprived (and so far as it is necessary, we deprive you anew) of every rank, privilege, and eminent position, and of your preferments, emoluments, and occupations, spiritual and secular, whatever they may be, and howsoever designated ; and that they have ceased to be enjoyed by you from the date of your heresies, and that thenceforward you were incapable of obtaining them. And we condemn you to the forfeiture of all your property, personal and real, and of all consequent rights and claims agreeable to the appointment of the sacred canons, to be applied, as we do apply it, to the purpose to which it should be justly assigned. And, as one irreclaimable, without remorse, we in like manner pronounce and ordain that you ought to be degraded, as we direct that you be actually degraded from the orders to which you have attained. And as a person so henceforward, as well as from the previous time, we expel you as an unprofitable branch from our ecclesiastical court, and from the safeguard of our Holy Church ; and we surrender and deliver you up to the secular court, that is, to your lordship the Governor of Rome, that you may take him under your jurisdiction, and that he may be subject to your decision, so as to be punished with due chastisement ; beseeching you, however, as we do earnestly beseech you, so to mitigate the severity of your sentence with respect to his body, that there may be no danger either of death or of shedding of blood. So we Cardinals, Inquisitors General, whose names are written beneath, decree.”

The Inquisition was accustomed to vary its interrogations from time to time, without permitting the accused to read over his replies, which were submitted to persons skilled in comparing evidence, and fresh inquiries were then instituted on matters which seemed to open out the

discovery of new criminals, or contradiction and evasion in the prisoner. Nothing points to the conclusion that Bruno was submitted to the torture.¹ "Such proceedings," writes Bartholmèss, "would have been useless, since there was no doubt whatever on the 'intent.'"

The testimony of Scioppius survives to show in what spirit Bruno received the judgment of the Holy Office. Cast off by the Church, his natural anger exhausted and turned to patience under the load of sorrow which he was called upon to bear—as herbs, when crushed, are made to yield up their virtues—he knew that his days were numbered, and he did not quail when the soldiers of the Governor advanced to seize him. The vaults of the Inquisition opened and gave up their prey, and the condemned prisoner passed into the keeping of the law. In the presence of that august assemblage of spiritual princes and theologians stood the indomitable figure of the philosopher, unwearied by suffering and degradation; and as the agony of death began, he was called upon to listen to the hypocritical words in which, when the wrath of the Church was to be appeased by punishment by fire, she required the temporal power to proceed "most mercifully and without shedding of blood." The prisoner, hearing this, said with a menacing aspect, "It may be you fear more to deliver judgment upon me than I fear judgment." After pronouncing these words he was led away from the judgment-hall, vigilantly guarded by the soldiers of the Governor, and a final

¹ Campanella writes as follows in his *Atheismus Triumphatus*: "I am held fast, like Prometheus in Caucasus, for having kindled a torch. I am no prophet nor worker of miracles, though may be I see great things; as Balaam's ass beheld the angel with the sword, and her master gave ear to her. I have been shut in fifty prisons; seven times I was examined under the most cruel torture. Forty hours I

lay lately under torment. I was bound with cords which cut to my bones, and with my hands tied at my back I hung upon the sharp edge of a log, which stripped me of a pound and a half of flesh, while the earth swallowed ten pounds of my blood. At last after six months by the grace of God I recovered. I was cast into an underground dungeon. I was five times questioned before the Tribunal."

attempt was made to induce him to repent. But he remained firm and his faith unshaken.

The action of the Inquisition was short and sharp ; and it was the custom to allow two days to elapse between passing a sentence and its execution. Sometimes the term was even briefer, but it was never extended beyond a week. If in this interval the condemned prisoner gave signs of repentance, his lot might be commuted to imprisonment for life, or the mercy shown him might be restricted to a change in the mode of his death. Left in the public prisons entirely alone, unvisited even by the terrible officers on their mission of conversion, the prisoner was abandoned to his own thoughts. Day dawned and night fell ; and as in the darkness and silence hour succeeded hour, there was nothing to show which moment would be his last. In that still and solitary cell he had need of all his philosophy, and of that " height of perfection " which he had described many years before in the *Expulsion* (W. i. 193). "The height of perfection is not to feel fatigue and sorrow when these are our portion." Many times he had reasoned with his own soul on the likelihood that death would be the result of his opinions, and many times he had assured himself that when death came he would meet it bravely. When speaking of the philosophers of antiquity, and of the death of St. Lawrence by fire, Bruno inquires of himself what it was which gave these men courage to endure the pangs of martyrdom. "There are men," he writes (Gfr. 578, 579), "in whom the working of the will of God is so powerful that neither threats nor contumely can cause them to waver. He who fears for his body has never felt himself to be one with God. He alone is truly wise and virtuous who feels no pain ; and he is happy (so far as the conditions of this present life admit) who regards all things with the eye of reason." Heaven, with its tent of stars, had shaped his lonely course in life, casting a lustre on his death before which his funeral fire paled and became ineffectual.

At the time of the trial multitudes of pilgrims from every country in Christendom were met in Rome. Nor were the flocks unshepherded, for some fifty cardinals had assembled to celebrate the jubilee of the astute Pope who had converted Henry IV. of France to Catholicism. The Church in all its glory was mustered to do honour to its chief, and as Nero with his court mounted guard over burning Christians, the ministers of peace and pardon were summoned to watch the lingering agony of the dying philosopher. On the 17th of February, clad in a *san benito*¹ painted with flames and devils, he was led to the stake in the Campo di Flora, that place of execution of which he had spoken in London as a spot frequented by Roman outcasts. "A herd of desperate men" (W. i. 148), "servants disgraced by their masters, outlaws, pilgrims, the useless and the idle, from those who have nothing left to steal, to those who, but newly escaped from prison, are bent on mischief and deceit, and on a speedy return to their place of punishment,"—such were the wretched beings who sought refuge in this quarter of the town appropriate to executions. Near the senate-house in which Cæsar received his death-blow stand two modern theatres, and the spot has often echoed with the funeral psalms of those who in their death were divided from the crowd as much by faith as by a barrier of fire. The cries of dying heretics were sport for the descendants of a people who in the Campo di Flora had hailed with applause the Ave Cæsar of the dying gladiators. Standing within a stone's-throw of the Tiber, the ancient square, which now resounds with the homely cries of the market-women, was once within earshot of the actors in Pompey's theatre; while the Romans turned the steps of the temple of Venus Victrix to such neighbourly account, that they served as often to seat the spectators at a play as to

¹ Those condemned by the Inquisition wore, at their execution, a sulphur-coloured scapulary, having on each division flames, devils, and a cross of St. Andrew.

conduct the wandering feet of the people to their devotions. "And now," in the words of Isaac Walton, "he was so happy as to have nothing to do but to die." And on the Campo di Flora the Nolan philosopher died without a murmur, as bravely as he had lived, refusing to listen to the priests or to receive any consolation,¹ and saying in his last moments that he died "a martyr and willingly;"² while predicting that his soul should ascend upon that smoke to Paradise. His ashes were then given to the winds, that nothing might remain of him upon the face of the earth save the memory of his execution, of his rare constancy, and of his tragic end, which, if it offered no proof of the truth of his doctrines, was none the less a distinguishing mark of the steadfastness of his soul. Many times he had reasoned with himself on the likelihood that death would be the result of his opinions, and many times he had assured himself that when death came he would meet it bravely. "For I esteem," he wrote (W. ii. 4), "all fame and all victory displeasing to God, and most vile and worthless if there is no truth in them; and for the love of true wisdom and learning I am full of weariness; I am crucified and tormented." In London he wrote (W. ii. 195), "When I am in trouble and in danger, thou, O courage, with the voice of thy lively persuasion fail not to murmur within my ear the sentence, *Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.*" The fame and honours which allure vulgar minds to him were nothing. His life was a long protest. God is, God is truth; and that truth shines forth in Nature, which is his handiwork. God is, and all is in God, but in a manner befitting his perfection. Infinity is within the evidence of our senses; it is proved to us by the multiplicity in

¹ Berti, Documents, p. 73.

² "*Diceva che moriva martire et volentieri.*" *Avvisi di Roma*, 1600, 19th February. He is said by the renegade Scioppius to have rejected "with a terrible menacing counten-

ance" a crucifix which was held up to him, and which may have been heated red-hot, as was customary, in order to convince the spectators of the sufferer's impiety.

figures based upon unity ; and shall we deny infinity to God ? It is difficult to imagine a theme more moving and more animated than this which inspires the words of the poet and philosopher. The most inert, the most insensible, and the most minute parts of the earth become in his hand infused with energy and contrivance. The whole creation shows forth the glory of God ; it is vivified, spiritualised, and made radiant with power and delight. In the eyes of the seer the universe is ever hymning the praise of its Maker, living and rejoicing with a life incomparably fuller than the life of man, and proclaiming its glorious mission of adoration and love. By the way of poetry Bruno became a philosopher. Love of art made him a lover of men ; love of the true and beautiful made him the worshipper of God. In what philosophy does the doctrine of the soul play so large a part ? Not the soul of man alone dwells in God ; but the soul of the world is in him, moves in him, and has its being from him. The things of Nature by which we are surrounded are shadows, unreal and not abiding ; but the spirit, the soul, the form, the act of the divine cognition, the substance which no human eye has ever seen, the Monad which can never be perceived by mortal sense, this alone is real, abiding, and true ; this was before the worlds were ; this is Infinity. To perceive it is the only true knowledge ; to be joined with it is the only true happiness. The majesty and immutability of God dawn upon the eye of man, and, led by love, the great revealer, the eager human spirit is united with its Giver. If this assurance should penetrate the heart of but one reader, the Nolan will not have died in vain, nor will the humble labours of his biographer be counted as nothing.

APPENDIX.



TABLE I.

THE EXISTING WORKS OF BRUNO.

Date.	Title.	Where Printed.
1582.	Jordanus Brunus Nolanus de umbris idearum implicantibus artem, Quærendi, Inveniendi, Judicandi, Ordinandi et Applicandi; ad internam scripturam et non vulgares per memoriam operationes explicatis. Ad Henricum III. Sere- niss: Gallorum Polono- rumque Regem, etc. Pro- testatio. <i>Umbra profunda sumus, né nos vexetis inepti. Non vos, sed doctos tam grave quaerit opus.</i> With its second part <i>Ars Memoriæ Jordani Bruni.</i>	Parisiis apud Ægid. Gorbinum, sub in- signe Spei, è regione gymnasii Camera- censis. Cum privilegio regis.
1582.	Philothei Jordani Bruni Nolani Cantus Circæus, ad eam memoriæ praxim ordinatus quam ipse judi- ciariam appellat. Ad Altissimum Principem Henricum d'Angoulesme, magnum Galliorum prio- rem, in provincia regis locumtenentum, etc.	Parisiis apud Ægid- ium Gillium via S. Joannis Lateranen- sis sub trium coron- arum signo.

Reprints.	Notes.
Gfrörer, p. 285-412. "Jordanus Brunus Nolanus. De umbris Idearum. Edition nova curavit Salvator Tugini. Berolini (apud. E. S. Mittlerum & filium, bibliopolas curiæ Regis), 1868." 8vo, pp. xxvi. and 178, with the figures from the original. J. Brunus. Opera Latine conscripta, vol. ii., Neapoli in 8, p. 257, 1886. De Umbris Idearum Ars Memoriae, Cantus Arcaeus.	The Art of Lullus applied to the Platonic Idea, and to its shadow or reflection in the mind of man. In this work and the following allusion is made to a <i>Liber clavis magnæ</i>, in which the Art of Memory is said to be perfected. Buhle believes it to be a work by Bruno; it has completely disappeared. The second part or continuation, <i>Ars Memoriae</i>, has in the original no separate title, though the numbering of the leaves (80) begins afresh. Affixed are three short chapters, under separate titles, containing enigmas and paradigms in Latin verse with prose illustrations. They are dedicated to King Henry III. of France, and are devoted to Mnemonics.
Gfrörer, p. 179-234. J. Brunus. Opera Latine Conscripta, vol. ii., Neapoli, 1886.	A work on the Lullian Art of Memory.

Date.	Title.	Where Printed.
1582.	Philotheus Jordanus Brunus Nolanus, de compendiosa architectura et complemento artis Lullii. Ad illustriss: D.D. Joannem Morum, pro serenissima Venetorum Republica apud Christianissimum Gallorum et Polonorum Regem legatum.	Parisiis apud Ægidium Gorbinum, sub insigni Spei, prope Collegium Camera-cense. 32mo. Ll. numbered 143, with many tables and diagrams.
1582.	Candelajo. Comedia del Bruno Nolano, Achademico di nulla Achademia detto il fastidito. <i>In tristitia hilaris, in hilaritate tristis.</i>	Paris. In Parigi. Appresso Guglielmo Giuliano, Al Segno de l'Amicitia. MDLXXXII. 147 small ll., with a Sonnet, Dedication, Argument, Antiprologue, and Prologue occupying thirty-two additional pages—in all 179 pages. Tall 16mo.

Reprints.	Notes.
Gfrörer, p. 235-284.	Giovanni Morowasa man of rare merit, a lover of letters, an accomplished statesman, and an orator. Bruno, in the Dedication, says he looks upon his work as a pearl, and he entreats Moro to preserve it from the swine. This work is on the art of Lully. It is interesting to note that the printer of <i>De Compendiosa Architectura</i> lived near the College of Cambrai. See <i>Camocracensis Acrotismos</i>.
Opere di Jordano Bruno Nolano. Ora per la prima volta raccolte et pubblicate da Adolfo Wagner Dottore. In due volumi. Lipsia: Weidmann, 1830. Vol. I. p. 1-112. 8vo. Biblioteca Rara, Vol. 18. Il Candelajo. Commedia di Giordano Bruno, nuovamente stampata e diligentemente corretta. Milano: G. Daelli e Comp. 1863. Il Candelajo. Commedia in cinque atti. (Teatro Classico Italiano.) 1829. 8vo. 151 pages, with an Introductory Notice by Carlo Teoli. In the bibliography of Tugini (see <i>De Umbris Idearum</i>) <i>Il Candelajo</i> is said to have been reprinted in 1583.	A comedy in five acts, and in prose. "It is dedicated," says M. de Chaufepié in his supplement to Bayle's great Dictionary, "to the Signora Morgana (perhaps some English-woman)." A French adaptation (8vo) of this play, under the title "Boniface et le Pédant, comédie, en prose, imitée de l'italien de Bruno," appeared in Paris in 1633. A second imitation by Cyrano de Bergerac is called "Le Pédant Joué."

Date	Title.	Where Printed.
[1583.]	Philothei Jordani Bruni Nolani, <i>Explicatio triginta Sigillorum</i>, ad omnium scientiarum et artium inventionem, dispositionem et memoriam. Quibus adiectus est Sigillus Sigillorum ad omnes animi operationes comparandas et earundem rationes habendas maxime conducens. Et non temere <i>ars artium</i> nuncupatur: hic enim facile invenies, quidquid per logicam, metaphysicam, cabalam, naturalem magiam, artes magnas atque breves, theoretice inquiritur.	[London.] S. l. and d.
[1583.]	Philothei Jordani Bruni Nolani <i>Sigillus Sigillorum</i> ad omnes animi dispositiones comparandas habitusque perficiendos accomodatus.	[London.]

Reprints.	Notes.
Gfrörer, p. 517-550. Gfrörer omits an opening poem of fourteen lines, the Dedication, the Presentation, the diagrams, and the leaves numbered 16 in the text.	This was the first work printed by Vautrollier for Bruno in London. It was dedicated to the French Ambassador Castelnau (W. ii. 255), and presented to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford. The pages are beautifully printed in italics, and decorated with eight white mnemonic figures on a black background. The verses <i>Dux gregis</i> of the Shadows of Ideas are repeated. The first 32 pages only are numbered on one side of the leaf, and were probably, therefore, not printed at the same time as the remainder. Three sets of verses, beginning respectively <i>Lumine de clarone</i>, <i>Uranie vatem</i>, and <i>Irrugit hæc</i>, are reproduced, according to Bruno's habit, from the <i>Ars Memorix</i>.
Gfrörer, p. 551-600.	Next after the <i>Explicatio Triginta Sigillorum</i> we have the Seal of Seals; the pages unnumbered and in fine italic type. The printing of this work begins on the last leaf of the last sheet of the <i>Explicatio Triginta Sigillorum</i>.

Date.	Title.	Where Printed.
1583.	Philothei Jordani Bruni Nolani, Recens et Completa <i>Ars Reminiscendi</i> et in phantastico campo exarandi Ad plurimas in triginta sigillis inquirendi, disponendi, atque retinendi, implicitas novas rationes et artes introductoria. No date or place. Closely followed by: Jordani Bruni Nolani <i>Ars alia brevior et expeditior ad verborum memoriam.</i>	
1584.	La Cena de le Ceneri descritta in cinque dialogi per quattro Interlocutori con tre Considerazioni, circa doi Suggetti. All'Unico Refugio de le Muse L'Illustrissimo MICHEL DI CASTELNOVO Signor di Mauvissier Concressalto, e di Jonvilla, Cavalier del'Ordine del Re Christianiss: E Consiglier nel suo privato Consiglio, capitano di 50 Huomini d'arme, Governator e Capitano di S: Desiderio; et Ambasciator alla serenissima Regina d'Inghilterra. L'universale intentione e dichiarata nel proemio.	[London.] SL.

Reprints.	Notes.
Gfr. 517.	The introduction to this work, beginning " <i>Intentio nostra est</i> ," is repeated from <i>Cantus Circæus</i> (Gfr. 206-208), and the entire work, including the <i>Ars alia brevior et expeditor</i> , is reproduced from the Paris publication: Gfrörer therefore only prints the title-page. The opening verses <i>Jordanus Libro</i> , and what may be called the fable of the <i>Cantus Circæus</i> are omitted from the <i>Recens et completa Ars Reminiscendi</i> . Eight extraordinary figures, containing mnemonic signs placed in lines and squares, complete the work.
Wagner, vol. i. p. 113-200.	12mo; ll. 8; 128 numbered pages.
Biblioteca rara, vol. 36. La Cena de le Ce- neri. per Gior- dano Bruno (Milano: G. Daelli et C., 1864). Nuova edizione diligentemen- te corretta.	

Date.	Title.	Where Printed.
1584. ✓	Giordano Bruno Nolano, De la Causa, Principio, et Uno. A l'Illustrissimo Signor di Mauvissiero.	[London.] Stampato in Venezia, Anno MDLXXXIV.
1584.	Giordano Bruno Nolano, De l'infinito, Universo, e Mondi. All'illustrissimo Signor di Mauvissiero.	[London.] Stampato in Venezia.

Reprints.	Notes.
Wagner, vol. i. p. 201–292. An excellent annotated translation of this work, <i>Giordano Bruno, Von der Ursache, dem Princip und dem Einen</i>, by Adolf Lasson, appeared at Berlin, 1872 (Heimann). An imperfect rendering is furnished by Rixner and Siber, <i>Leben und Lehrmeinungen berühmter Physiker am Ende des XVI. und am Anfange des XVII. Jahrhunderts</i>, Sulzbach, 1824.	Ll. 12, and 142 pages. Printed in London. In the eleventh document of the Trial Bruno says, “All those (books) said to be printed in Venice, were printed in England, and it was the Printer who desired it to appear they were printed in Venice, in order to sell them more easily, for if he had said they were printed in England it would have been more difficult to sell them in that country; and almost all the others were printed in England, even when they say Paris, and elsewhere.” The opening passages of <i>The Cause</i> are repeated in <i>De Immenso</i>, i. c. 2, p. 153.
Wagner, vol. ii. p. 1–104. A German translation of this work by Rixner and Siber (title as above) omits the Introduction. The Introduction only is translated into English and printed in “A Collection of Several Pieces of Mr. John Toland,” 2 vols. London: Peele, at <i>Locke's Head</i> in <i>Paternoster Row</i>. MDCCXXVI.	Ll. 16 and pp. 175.

Date.	Title.	Where Printed.	Reprints.
1584.	Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante, proposto da Gione, Effettuato dal consiglio, Reuelato da Mercurio, recitato da Sophia, iudito da Saulino, <i>registrato dal Nolano, Diviso in tre Dialogi, subdivisi in tre parti.</i> <i>Consecrato al molto illustre et eccellente Caualliero Sig. Philippo Sidnco.</i>	[London.] Stampato in Parigi. MDLXXXIII.	Wagner, vol. ii. p. 105-250. Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante Biblioteca rara. Vol. xxvi. Milano: G. Daelli et Cie. 1863.

Notes.

Two hundred and sixty-one pages, 12mo; with an Introduction, the pages of which are not numbered.

"This book," says Father Nicéron, "is despicable in itself, and is despised to such a degree that at the sale of M. Bigot's library, in 1706, it fetched (with five other works by the same writer) but 25 sous, though," he adds, "by the folly of bibliomaniacs, it has since reached an exorbitant price" (*Nicéron, Mémoires pour servir dux hommes illustres*, vol. xvii. p. 211). At the sale of the Abbé de Rothelin the *Expulsion* fetched 1132 francs. A translation of this work was published in London under the title, "Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante, or the Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast. Translated from the Italian of Giordano Bruno. London: Printed in the year 1713." The Dedication to Sir P. Sidney is omitted.

In the British Museum Catalogue there is the following note: "Translated (by W. Morehead) from the Italian of G. B. Engl. Only 50 copies printed." Mr. Bohn, however, says that more than sixty copies have passed through his hands alone.

A French reproduction of this work has the following title: "Le Ciel Réformé. Essai de traduction de partie du livre italien Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante. Demus alienis oblectationibus Veniam, dum nostris impetremus.—Plin. L'an 1000,700,50." The translator, in a dedication to "Monsieur * * *," promises, in quaint terms, that if his patron favours him, his pen will revive, and he will finish the work; but if not, he will refrain from the amusement of his leisure, and will repair to abodes of peace, "where books are esteemed at their just value, not because they are rare, but because they are efficacious and deserving." On the "reviving pen" has been laid the silence of the grave, and the work remains unfinished; the translator ominously withholding his name. In a too sprightly humour he speaks of the martyrdom of Bruno, whom he calls "*this good Jacobin*," as "a literary anecdote," perhaps because he wished to make light of the event: although, to do him justice, he warmly denied the charge when a friend whom he met told him that Bruno's book was a satire against the Court of Rome.

Hartung, a German writer, gives an interesting review of Bruno's Ethics, chiefly founded upon the *Expulsion*: "Grundlinien einer Ethik bei Giordano Bruno," Leipzig, 1878. Enfield, in his not unkindly notice of Bruno (*History of Philosophy*, vol. ii. p. 474), humorously renders the title, "Dispatches from the Triumphant Beast."

Date.	Title.	Where Printed.
1585.	Cabala del Cavallo Pegaseo. Con l'aggiunta dell' <i>Asino Cillenico</i> . Descritta dal Nolano: dedicata al Ves-covo di Casamarciano.	[London.] Parigi, appresso An-tonio Baio. Anno 1585.
1585.	Giordano Bruno <i>Nolano</i> . De Gli Heroici Furori. <i>Al molto illustre et excel-lente Caualliero Signor Philipppo Sidneo.</i>	[London.] Parigi, Appresso An-tonio Baio. L'Anno. 1585.

Reprints.	Notes.
Wagner (vol. ii. p. 253-296). Biblioteca rara, vol. 35, Cabala del Cavallo Pegaseo con l'agguin- ta del Asino Cillenico per Giordano Bruno. Milano: Daelli et Comp. 1864.	Ll. 47. Pages unnumbered. This book was also printed in London (Doc. xi.) It consists of a Dedicatory Epistle, three Sonnets, a "Declamation," three Dialogues, of which the second is again divided into three, and an Appendix. The theme of the book is that Piety, which, according to Bruno, takes undue advantage of certain passages in the Scriptures, and setting itself up to be better than Science, falls a prey to the dull idleness and ignorance of the Ass. An engraving of two lively donkeys in a wood, designed and probably cut by Bruno, completes the whole.
Wagner (vol. ii. p. 297-437). Biblioteca rara, pubbli- cata da G. Daelli, vol. 57. Gli Eroici urori di Giordano Bruno. Milano, 1864.	Ll. 140. Pages [unnumbered] beautifully printed on fine paper. A beautiful and poetic rendering of some of the sonnets in this work is given by Professor Carriere. Dr. Brunnhofer also translates several of the poems. A great number appear in the "Programme des städtischen Gymnasiums zu Stolp für das Schuljahr 1869-70." They are carefully rendered into verse by Prof. Hermann Schütz.

Date.	Title.	Where Printed.
1586.	Jordani Bruni Nolani dialogi duo de Fabricii Mordentis Salernitani prope divina adinventione ad perfectam Cosmimetriae praxim. With an affix, Jordani Bruni Insomnium. In the same volume, and printed at the same time and place, is Jordani Bruni Nolani Figuratio Aristotelici physici auditus ad eiusdem intelligentiam atque retentionem per quindecim imagines explicanda, ad illustrem admodum atque reverendum dominum D. Petrum Dalbenium Abbatem Belleville.	Parisiis, ex typographia Petri Chevellot, in vico S. Joannis lateranensis sub Rosa rubra, 1586.
1586.	"Centum, et rigiati articuli de natura et mundo adversus peripateticos. Per Joh. Hennequinum Nobilem Parisien. Lutelie proposito. Sub clipeo and moderamine Jordani Bruni Nolani, infra octavā Pentecostes, an 1586.	Impressum Parisiis, ad Authoris instant. 1586.

Reprints.	Notes.
	This work has hitherto escaped notice, probably because it appears with the name of Hennequin. There is a copy in the British Museum.

Date.	Title.	Where Printed.
1587.	Jord. Brunus Nolanus. De Lampade Combinatoria Lulliana. Ad Amplissi- mum Witebergensis academiae Senatum.	Wittenberg.
1587.	Jordanus Brunus Nolanus. De Progressu et Lampade Venatoria Logicorum. <i>Ad promptè atq copiosè de quocumq proposito pro- blemate disputandum.</i> Next comes Jord. B. No- lanus. De Progressu Logicae Venationis, and then Jordanus Brunus Nolanus. De Lampade Venatoria Logicorum.	[Wittenberg.] SL.

Reprints.	Notes.
Gfrörer, p. 621-702.	To introduce the art of Lully to the Academy at Wittenberg. An enlarged and perfected reproduction of The Compendious Architecture. It displays, among others, a wheel-shaped figure, or sphere, often drawn by Bruno, containing within itself nine Divine attributes—glory, bounty, magnitude, duration, power, wisdom, will, virtue, truth.
Gfrörer, p. 703-770. Raymundi Lullii opera. Argentorati, 1609, p. 735-786.	On second page, Excellentissimo, et Adm. Rev. D. D. Georgio Mylio, Augustano, VVitebergensis Academiae Cancellario, Jordanus B. Nolanus, S. P. D. Ll. 3-9. Pp. 1-79. Ll. 8, and 79 pp.

Date.	Title.	Where Printed.
1588.	Jordani Bruni Nolani Camoeracensis Acrotismus, seu Rationes Articulorum physicorum adversus Peripateticos Parisiis propositorum, etc.	Wittenberg apud Zachariam Cratonem.

Reprints.

Gfrörer, p. 1-112.

Jordani Bruni Nolani
opera latine con-
scripta recensebat F.
Fiorentino. Naples,
apud Dom. Morano.
1879.

p. 53-190.

Notes.

Ll. 20 and pp. 128.

The heads of a public disputation held in Paris at Whitsuntide 1586, in the hall of the College of Cambrai. Crévier, in a note in his History of the Paris University, says the title proves that the disputation did not take place in the Sorbonne. A college was founded in Paris by three bishops, one of whom was Bishop of Cambrai; hence the title. When Francis I. founded a school of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, the royal professors, having no college of their own, hired a hall, usually in the College of Cambrai, and Bruno may have done the same. The College of France now stands on the site of the College of Cambrai, and it was here that Edgar Quinet delivered his lecture on Bruno in 1842.

Date.	Title.	Where Printed.
Dictated Witten- berg, 1587. Printed Frank- fort, 1612.	Artificium perorandi tra- ditum a Jordano Bruno Nolano Italo, commui- catum a Johan Henrico Alstedio In gratiam eorum, qui eloquentiae vim et rationem cognoscere cu- piunt. Following Al- sted's Introduction, Ex- plicatio rhetoricae Aris- totelis ad Alexandrum privatim a J. Bruno No- lano Italo dictata. Wit- tembergae Anno 1587. With Secunda Pars rheto- rices addita praecedenti a J. Bruno Nolano Italo.	Francofurti prostat apud Antonium Hummium, 1612.
8th March 1588.	Oratio Valedictoria a Jor- dano Bruno Nolano D. habita, Ad Amplissimos et clarissimos professores, atque auditores in acade- mia witebergensi Anno 1588, 8 Martii.	Wittenberg Typis Zachariae Cratonis.

Reprints.	Notes.
Gfrörer, p. 113-178.	12mo., pp. 144, numbered.
Heumann. <i>Acta philos.</i> 9, 408 ff. Jordani Bruni Nolani Opera Latine Con- scripta recensebat, F. Fiorentino (Naples: Apud. Dom. Morano, 1879), p. 1-25.	

Date.	Title.	Where Printed.	Reprints.
10th June 1588.	Jordanus Brunus Nolanus, de speci- erum scrutinio et Lampade Combi- natoria Raymun- di Lullii Doctoris Herenitæ omnis- cij, propè modum- que divini.	Pragae, ex- cudebat Georgius Nigrinus.	Gfrörer, p. 601 – 702. This series was reprinted with the works of Lully, Argen- torati, 1598, 8vo, p. 682, <i>seq.</i> ; also, ed. 1609, p. 664.
1588.	Centum et Sex- aginta Articuli ad- versus hujus tem- pestatis mathe- maticos.	Prague.	

Notes.

68 ll., unnumbered, 8vo. Ad excellentissimum Guil. de S. Clemente regis Hispaniæ in aula imperat. legatum.

Buhle and others hold this work to be a reprint or repetition of the Wittenberg publication *De Lampade Combinatoria*. It is neither the one nor the other, but simply the Wittenberg edition itself, as can be proved by a careful comparison of the Wittenberg book and of the book issued at Prague. The explanation is probably that when Bruno left Wittenberg for Prague the whole of his edition was not sold. He took the unsold copies with him to Prague, wrote an Introduction entitled *De Specierum Scrutinio*, cancelled the Wittenberg title-page, and bound up the new pages with his unsold copies. The Introduction with its special title consists of the Dedication to the Spanish Ambassador. It contains further the tables of the nine elementary concepts; their absolute and relative predicates, and the figures denoting their manifold combinations. Forty leaves of this work (from the title *De Lampade Combinatoria Lulliana* to the first four lines of Chapter IV., *De Multiplicatione regularum*) are printed on paper considerably thicker and of a different colour to the rest, and probably form part of the original edition. The remaining twenty-four leaves resemble the paper of *De Specierum Scrutinio*. The same print is used throughout; the protruding letters, battered letters, decorated initials, and finals, are those of the Wittenberg publication.

Dedicated to the Emperor Rudolf II.

Date.	Title.	Where Printed.
Febr. 1589.	Oratio Consolatoria Jordani Bruni Nolani Itali. D. habita in illustri celeberrima que Academia Julia. In fine sollemnissimarum exequiarum in obitum Illustrissimi potentissimique Principis Julii, Ducis Brunsvicensium Luneburgensium, etc.	Helmstedt.
Febr. 1591.	<i>Jordani Bruni Nolani</i> de triplici Minimo et Mensura ad trium speculativarum scientiarum et multarum activarum artium principia libri v. Ad illustrissimum et reverendiss. Principem Henricum Julium, Brunsvicensium et Luneb. Ducem, Halberstatensium Episcopum. Capita cuiusq. libri, proxime post præfationem sunt exposita: Schematum item et definitionum præcipuarum Index alphabeticus in fine additus.	Francofurti apud Joannem Wechelum et Petrum Fischerum consortes.

Reprints.	Notes.
F. Fiorentino, p. 27-52.	Delivered at the Julia Academy of Helmstedt on the death of its founder, Duke Henry Julius of Brunswick.

Ll. 4 and 218 pp.

This poem is closely allied to the Italian dialogue *Della Causa*. Certain pages of *De Minimo* and of *De Monade* are almost literal versifications of *Della Causa* and *Dell' Infinito*. The following, with regard to the order of the didactic poems, occurs in the Dedication: *Adsunt primo De Minimo libri; secundo de Monade liber; tertio De Immenso*. The words "*consequens quinque de Minimo*," printed with the title of *De Monade*, prove it to be a sequel to *De Minimo*.

The printing was finished February 1591; the Dedication is dated February 13. The work is in three parts: the first part is metaphysical; the second mathematical, with problems resembling those of Euclid, and introductory to those mystic figures of Lullus, with which the third part of this work is occupied.

Date.	Title.	Where Printed.
1591.	<i>Jordani Bruni Nolani</i> de Monade, Numeroet Figura liber, consequens Quinque de minimo, magno et Mensura. <i>Item de Innumera- bilibus Immenso, et Infigurabili; seu de Universo et Mundis libri octo.</i> Ad illustrissimum et reve- rendissimum Principem Henricum Julium, Brunsvicensium et Lune- burgensium ducem, Halberstaden- sium Episcopum, &c. After 146 pages, Jordanus Brunus Nolanus De Immenso et Innumerabilibus seu de Universo et Mundis. Ad Illustriss. et Reverendiss. Heroem Henrietm (sic) Julium Bruns- vicensium et Lunæburgensium Ducem, Halberstadensium Epis- copum, &c. On the 198th page we have a new title with continu- ous paging, Jordani Bruni Nolani, de Maximo et Immenso. On page 346, Jordani Bruni Nolani De Immenso et Innumerabilibus, which heads the pages, according to Bruno's habit, until page 507, when a further change takes place, Jordani Bruni Nolani De Universo et Innumerabilibus. Book VII. and Book VIII. have each different titles, 655 pages in all; prefixed 12 unpagged leaves.	Francofurti apud Joan. Wechelum et Petr. Fischerum consortes. 8vo.

Reprints.	Notes.
Under the title <i>Jordanus Brunus Nolanus De Immenso et Innumerabilibus</i> seu de Universo et Mundis, Signor Fiorentino prints the Dedication to the <i>Monad</i>. The whole of that work, 145 pages in all, is then omitted, and three books follow, one of which is entitled <i>De Immenso</i>; the other two, <i>De Maximo et Immenso</i> (page 191 to 398). The Editor's capricious treatment is severely taken to task by Professor Sigwart in the <i>Gelehrte Anzeigen</i> of Göttingen, 5th and 12th January 1881.	This poem contains the substance of the dialogues <i>Dell' Infinito</i>. Both are concerned with God as the Cause and Principle, and in his Essence; in contradistinction to the foregoing, which treats of his works. These works are substantially one; the paging is continuous.

Date.	Title.	Where Printed.
1591.	Jordani Bruni Nolani, De Imaginum, Signorum et Idearum compositione, ad omnia Inventionum, Dispositionum et Memoriae genera libri tres. Ad illustrem et generosiss: Ioan. Hainricum <i>Haincellium Elcoviae Dominum</i> . Credite et intelligetis.	Frankfort apud Joan. Wechelum et Petrum Fischerum consortes.
1595.	Summa Terminorum metaphysicorum ad capessendum Logicae et Philosophiae studium, ex Jordani Bruni Nolani Entis Descensu manusc. excerpta: nunc primum luci commissa a Raphaele Eglino Iconio, Tigurino. Tiguri.	Zurich apud Jo. Wolphium.
1609.	Summa Terminorum Metaphysicorum Jordani Bruni Nolani. Accessit ejusdem Praxis Descensus, seu applicatio Entis ex manuscripto per Raphaelum Eglinum, Iconium Tigurinum.	Marburg. Marpurgi Cattorum, Ex Officina Rodolphi Hutovelckeri.

Reprints.	Notes.
	4 ll. and 213 pages. A curious fault in the paging occurs next page 209. The third book is the same as the <i>Explicatio triginta sigillorum</i>. The preface speaks of this work as <i>unam de ingenii mei foeturis jam diu conceptam atque retentam</i>. It belongs to the <i>cetera industriæ momumenta</i> alluded to in the Dedication of the Threefold Minimum, as already finished.
	4to, 28 leaves. A portion of an abridgment of Bruno's metaphysics and a lexicon of philosophic concepts, dictated to his pupil, Raphael Eglin, seemingly under the title <i>Lampas de Entis</i>. Eglin entitles them <i>Praxis descensu seu Applicatio Entis</i>. With a Dedication dated vi. Cal. May 1595. Dictated at Zurich towards Easter 1591.
Gfrörer, pp. 413-516.	Nine years later, when Eglin was Professor of Theology at Marburg, he reprinted the work with considerable additions.

TABLE II.

THE NOROFF COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS.

II.

IN the year 1866 the booksellers Tross of Paris announced that they had in their possession a number of manuscripts written in Bruno's own hand, and hitherto unpublished. The manuscript, in small 4to, consists of 184 leaves, and contains nine treatises and an entire book, written by the Nolan. This valuable collection was said by Messrs. Tross to be in Bruno's hand; and M. Abraham de Noroff, a member of the Petersburg Academy and Russian Minister of Instruction, who bought the manuscripts and made them over to the Moscow Library, shares the opinion of Messrs. Tross.

M. Dufour points out that, on comparing the facsimiles, Bruno's autograph in the *Book of the Rector* of Geneva, for example, does not resemble, even in the most remote degree, the writing of the treatise *De Vinculis in Genere*, reproduced by M. Berti from the Noroff manuscripts. The latter is extremely fine and small, while Bruno's autographs are unusually large and bold. M. Dufour suggests that the Noroff manuscripts are probably in the hand of one of the numerous pupils to whom Bruno was in the habit of dictating.

One of the Noroff manuscripts, *De Rerum Principiis et Elementis et Causis*, is dated 16th March 1590 (Monday in the Julian Calendar). It was finished during Bruno's stay at Helmstedt. Another—*Libër Triginta Statuarum*¹

¹ In *Libro Triginta Statuarum non edito sed Scripto* (De Monade, p. 128). The whole of this work, over which Bartholmæss pronounces a touching lament, is in the Noroff Collection. It contains a chapter on

the soul, which may perhaps be part of the lost work, *De Anima*. The book is remarkable, because it speaks of the immateriality and substantiality of the soul, and of Bruno's belief in revelation.

—is dated 1st July 1591. It opens with a passage which is substantially repeated in the *Eroici Furori* (W. ii. 405, 406). The work was finished at Padua, 1st October 1591.

M. Dufour points out that in the autumn of 1591 Bruno employed as his secretary for about two months a scholar named Jerome Besler¹ (Doc. XI.), of Nuremberg. De Triginta Statuarum therefore may be in the hand of Besler. A monogram of the interlaced letters, G. J. B. (Giordano Bruno, Jerome Besler), seems to point to this conclusion.

Although it is possible that the more finished treatises were copied by, or dictated to, his pupils, there can, in any case, be no reason why the disjointed notes, of which the first section of MSS. is composed, should not be in Bruno's own hand. On leaf 85 will be found eight lines in poetry, which appear in a finished form as the ninth sonnet in the *Eroici Furori*. It is therefore a mistake to imagine that the whole of the manuscript is of one period, or in one hand.

It is the opinion of Professor Sigwart that Bruno's letter to the Rector of Helmstedt is "an undoubted autograph," and when comparing it with the facsimile of the Noroff MSS., the learned Professor adds, "The resemblance of the handwriting is not great enough to warrant the belief that both are written by the same person." I am assured by Dr. Von Heinemann, the librarian-in-chief of Wolfenbüttel, in a very kind and courteous letter, that of the celebrated Helmstedt manuscript (now in the Ducal library at Wolfenbüttel), only the date, October 6, 1589, and the signature, are in Bruno's hand, notwithstanding the formula *qui script manu propria*, which, as I saw in Venice, does not apply to an entire letter, but to the signature only. Doc. III. of the Venetian trial ends with a similar phrase, referring to the signature, not to the document in its entirety, which is written in another hand. M.

¹ Besler, himself a celebrated doctor (Brunnhöfer, p. 324), was born in 1566. He was the son of Michael Besler of Nuremberg, a pupil of Luther. The brother of Jerome, Basil, was a noted botanist.

Noroff concludes his notice of this valuable collection in the following words:—

“We call the attention of the learned world to passages in these manuscripts which completely remove from the memory of this celebrated Italian the scandalous charge that he professed unchristian doctrines and believed in the transmigration of souls. . . . The book *De Triginta Statuarum* acknowledges revelation, and dwells upon the words of Christ (whose holy name is traced by the hand of Bruno in capital letters); and again, those passages which speak of the immateriality and substantiality of the soul protest aloud against those of his foes to whom, doubtless, he applies the words of Christ quoted by him upon page 48, *Hic dies vestra et potestas tenebrarum.*”

The following bibliographical notice of the Noroff Catalogue is printed in the *Documenti intorno a Giordano Bruno* (Rome, 1880), by Domenico Berti:—

NOTICE BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE,

SUR UN MANUSCRIT AUTOGRAPHE DES ŒUVRES INÉDITES DE
GIORDANO BRUNO NOLANO.

(*Tirée du Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de M. Abraham de Noroff.*)

104. (JORDANI BRUNI NOLANI OPERA INEDITA, MANU PROPRIA SCRIPTA). Pet. in-4°, 184 f. Enveloppe en parchemin, formée d'une feuille qui a appartenu à un Missel MS. du XV^e siècle.

Cette précieuse collection renferme 9 traités plus ou moins considérables et tout le livre: “*De triginta statuarum.*” On y retrouve, comme on le verra, presque tous les ouvrages de Bruno qu'on croyait perdus. Il n'y a que (sic) *l'Arc de Noé*, *le Temple de Mnemosyne* et *le Purgatoire de l'enfer*, qui n'y sont pas compris.¹

¹ Ne pouvant pas placer dans le cadre d'un catalogue une analyse détaillée de ces œuvres, nous nous bornons à un aperçu où l'on trouvera

On rencontre en premier lieu un brouillon de 6 feuillets décousus dont les 4 premiers sont numérotés.

Les pages de ce brouillon se rapportent à l'opuscule intitulé *De vinculis spirituum*.

Elles ont une importance particulière, vu qu'elles dénotent tout d'abord l'origine italienne du célèbre auteur et prouvent d'une manière irrecusable que ce MS. est *autographe*. On y trouve des versets italiens intercalés dans le texte latin d'une manière provisoire, sans se rapporter directement au sens du texte de cette page, mais qui peuvent s'adapter au quatrième feuillet où il est question des liens ou des nœuds (*vincula*) de l'amour spirituel (*animi vinculum*). On lit sur le *recto* de la f. 1^{re} :

“Se si potesse a te chiuder l'entrata
Tant'il regno d'amor saresse *più vago*¹
.
.
.
Quant'il mondo senz'odio et senza morte.”

Les deux premiers vers et ce dernier sont séparés par le texte latin qui se trouve en partie biffé et par conséquent, doivent être unis, ce qui explique leur beau sens.

Au *recto* de la feuille 5^e, qui n'est pas numérotée, on lit :

“Chi mette il piè su l'amorosa pania. . . .”
.
.
.
.

Ce vers appartient à Arioste. Ensuite :

“Dove l'amor Venereo spinge più gagliardamente. . . .”

Nous n'avons pas pu bien lire ce passage qui consiste en trois lignes.

Finalement on trouve cinq vers dont nous avons déchiffré seulement ce qui suit :

les titres des traités et des chapitres et quelques fragments de chaque traité.

¹ Nous soulignons les mots qui ne sont pas bien lisibles.

A noi pare stando al fac-simile che si debba leggere *saria* invece del *saresse*; così più sotto noi leggiamo, ne distanza di loco, etc.

“Ne distanza di loro *ne di tempo*
 Ne altra alcuna affectione chi le . . .

 forte
 . . . affaticarmi.”

Ce feuillet est terminé par un tracé d'un *vinculus*.

Au recto de la feuille 5^{me}, qui n'est pas numérotée, on ne trouve que sept lignes écrites en latin avec un *intitulé* qu'il est difficile de déchiffrer.

Le recto de la sixième et dernière feuille détachée se trouve vide, mais le *verso* est occupé par une figure (*schemata*) qui se rapporte à la formation de la Terre.

Voici maintenant la description du *texte* de cette collection dont l'écriture est très serrée, mais très lisible, avec des remarques et des corrections qu'on déchiffre quelquefois difficilement.

Le premier opusculé n'a pas de titre séparé, il est composé de 15 f. et commence par ces mots :

“Antequam DE MAGIA, sicut antequam de quocunque subiecto disseratur, nomen in sua significata est dividendum. . . .

“Magus I.^o sumitur pro sapiente, cuiusmodi erant Trimegisti apud Ægyptios, Druidæ apud Gallos, Gymnosophistæ apud Indos. . . .”

Suivent neuf définitions de la Magie, c.-à-d. des sciences naturelles, physiques. Au recto de la 8^e f. on trouve un chapitre intitulé :

“*De Motu rerum duplici, et attractione* : Duplex est rerum motus. Naturalis et præter naturalis. . . .” (Les deux derniers mots ont remplacé : *violentus* qui est biffé), etc. Au recto de la 9^e f. un autre chapitre est intitulé :

“*Quomodo Magnes trahat ferrum, corralium sanguinem*, etc. Ex istis sequitur ratio, quam magnes secundum genus attrahit : Porro attractio est duplex : quædam ex consensu, ut quando partes moventur ad suum totum : locata ad suum locum, similia rapiuntur à similibus, et convenientia à convenientibus. . . .”

Sur le verso de la 11^e f. le troisième chap. est intitulé :

“*De vinculis Spirituum.* Supra dictum est spiritus alios crassiorem, alios subtiliorem incolere materiam.”

Sur le verso de la f. 12^e le quatrième chap. est intitulé :

“*De Analogia spirituum.* Porphyrius, Plotinus et alii Platonici ita spiritibus corpora distribuunt. . . .”

On y trouve f. 14 r. une citation de 7 vers de Virgile : “*Principio cœlum et terras camposque liquentes,*” etc. . . . (Æn. vi. 724-30) confrontés avec la Bible :

“*Idem dicit sensus Sacrorum arcanorum ab omni vulgo receptus ut in Psalmo et in Libro Sapientiæ Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum et hoc quod continet omnia: et alibi: Cœlum et terram ego impleo.*”

Le traité finit au recto de la f. 15^e par ces mots :

“*Præter hæc generalia vincula sunt quæ in 17 articulis ex Alberti doctrina colliguntur quorum quædam sunt relata quantum referenda supersunt.*”

Le verso de la f. est laissé en blanc. Sur la f. suivante commence la traité intitulé :

“*DE VINCULIS SPIRITUUM et primum de eo quod est ex triplici ratione agentis materiæ et applicationis.*” Ce titre est écrit par-dessus un premier titre que l’auteur a biffé, mais qui est bien lisible :

“*De rationibus quibus alius in aliud agit et ab alio petitur.* Ad hoc ut actiones in rebus perficiantur tria requiruntur. Potentia activa in agente, potentia passiva in subiecto. . . .”

Sur le verso de la f. 17^e on lit :

“*Secundum vinculum ex voce et cantu.* II^a vinculi ratio est a conformitate numerorum ad numeros, mensuræ ad mensuram, momenti ad momentum, unde illj rythmj atque cantus qui maximam habere efficaciam perhibentur. . . .”

18. f. v. : “*Tertium vinculorum genus ex visu.* Per

visum etiam vincitur spiritus ut passim quoque superius est antedictum, dum formæ aliter atque aliter ante oculos obversantur, hinc fascinationes activæ et passivæ ab oculis proficiscuntur, et per oculos ingrediuntur unde illud : *Nescio quis oculis teneros mihi fascinat agnos. . .*”

19. f. r. “*Quantum vinculum est ex Phantasia.*” Ce dernier mot a remplacé : *Imaginatione*, que l’auteur a biffé. “Cuius quidem munus est recipere species à sensibus delatas et continere et componere eas et dividere, quod quidem accidit dupliciter uno pacto ex arbitrio vel electione imaginantis, quale est poetarum et pictorum munus. . . .”

F. 20. v. “*De vinculo quinto quod est ex Cogitativis.* Vinculum Phantasiæ leve per se est, si vinculum Cogitativæ, vires non conduplicet, ea enim spectra, quibus Idiotæ, stulti, creduli et superstiosioris ingenii animum devinciunt et obligant, deridentur, contemnuntur et veluti inanes umbræ à sobrio et bene nato et disciplinatio ingenio. . . .”

Ce traité finit sur le verso de la f. 21 par ces mots : “et hæc de vinctis in genere dicta sint. *Finis.*”

F. 22. r. Le traité qui suit ne porte pas de titre ; il commence ainsi : “*MAGIA* sumitur multipliciter : Communissimè, communiter, propriè et propriissime.

“I^o modo pro omni genere scientiæ et sapientiæ :

“II^o Pro scientia naturalj, seu rerum naturalium in genere.

“III^o Pro sapientia, quæ complectitur triplex genus scientiarum realium cum triplici moralium, et triplici rationalium. (*Ethic. Polit. Œconom.—Logica : Metaphys. Mathem.*)¹

“IV^o Pro aggregato habitu ex omnibus his vel pluribus, cum facultate mirabiliter cognoscendi vel operandi, et hoc dupliciter vel per se vel per aliud : et hoc trip-

¹ Note marginale.

liciter, vel per superiora, vel per æqualia, vel per inferiora. . . .

“ Magia est triplex: Divina, Physica et Mathematica. . . .

“ Magia Mathematica media est inter Divinam et Physicam Magiam, sicut mathematica media simpliciter est inter Naturalem et Methaphysicam. . . .”

F. 22. v. “ Principium Magiæ est considerare ordinem influxus seu scalam entium, qua Deum in deos, deos in astra, astra in dæmonas, dæmones in elementa, elementa in mista. (*aliquid immittere comperimus*).”¹

F. 23. r. “ Hanc mundi distinctionem, iuxta tria prædicta significata, comprobant NATURÆ VERITAS, RATIO, et DIVINA REVELATIO. 1^{um} quia nihil est in mundo sensibili quod ab archetypo non dependeat. Secundum quia nihil est in intentione quod non sit in rebus fundamentaliter. Distingue fundamentaliter et realiter, fundamentaliter secundæ intentiones, realiter ut primæ. Tertium quia veritas veritati non contradicit et multoties hæc distinctio in divinis libris reperitur.”

F. 24. r. “ Anima per se et immediatè non est obligata corpori, sed mediante spiritu. . . .”

F. 26. r. “ De attractione vero magnetis à polo, variæ sunt sententiæ, nos tamen omnibus hisce prætermissis eam eius rei rationem probamus quæ non est ab attractione similis speciei nempe quod illinc sint montes magnetis, hæc enim causa effectus iste non sequitur, sed universam rationem ac firmam ex contrarii fuga esse asserimus et antipathiam quandam quam habet ad loca opposita. (Rationes sunt in XXIII articulo.)”

Ce traité finit au v. de la f. 32 par ces mots: “. . . unde fortasse amor à Platonicis dæmon magnus est appellatus. *Finis*.”

Au recto de la f. 33 commence le traité intitulé :

¹ Note marginale.

DE RERUM PRINCIPIIS ET ELEMENTIS ET CAUSIS.

Bruno a inscrit au haut de la marge de cette f. la date de la composition de ce traité: "A° 1590 16 Martij D."

Le traité commence ainsi: "Rerum causæ efficientes, et moventes, sunt intellectus et anima supra quibus est principium Unum absolutum, mens, seu veritas. . . ."

F. 34. r. "*De Luce et Igne.* Lux est substantia spiritalis, insensibilis per se. . . ." Sur le v. de la même f. une importante reclame sur le I^e Chap. de la Génèse.

F. 36. v. "*De Aere seu Spiritu.* Spiritus subinde est quædam substantia per se mobilis, unde motus corporibus compositis et sensibilibus oculis omnis emanat. . . ."

F. 38. r. "*De Aqua:* Quod diximus de spiritu in II^a significatione universum ad aquam possumus referre. . . ."

F. 39. r. "*De Terra.* Terra est elementum solidissimum, simplicissimum, unde soliditatem habere corpora communiter existimatur. Hinc non accipimus terram, pro hoc globo animali, unde vitam, nutrimentum et corpus nacti sumus, quam unum ex astris atque planetam intelligimus partibus consistens proportionalibus. . . ."

F. 40. r. "*De Tempore.* Ad complementum istius pertractationis maximum et præcipuum negotium et ut videtur totius rei forma est, temporis habere rationem, actionis (?) enim tum naturales, tum voluntariæ, certa quadam vicissitudine et ordine veniunt ut sensibus ipsis est manifestum. . . ."

Suit une fig. explicative sur le verso de la même f. insérée dans le texte: I. *Annus Cæli*, II. *Ann. Telluris* ☉ is, III. *Annus circumferentiæ telluris diei*. Sur le recto de la f. 41 au bas de la marge se trouve une remarque avec un signe qui la rapporte au texte avec une multiplication de 30 (jours) par 12 (mois) = 360, puis $51\frac{3}{4}$ suivi de ces mots peu lisibles: "Post inventum cogita *an mens hic sit Nolani* (?)." Sur le verso de la même f. on trouve une figure astrologique.

F. 42. r. Sur la marge un renvoi sur son livre "De Umbris Idæarum" et sur *Corn. Agrippa, de occultu philos.*

F. 43. r. fig. astrologique: "II°. Animadvertendum quidem et signa et reliquæ imagines cœlestes et mansiones ☽^{ae}. . . ." Plus bas sur la marge est inscrit: "NB. "*Rationes de nominationibus Planetarum.*"

Sur le verso de la même f. un autre NB. qui renvoie sur: "Ptolomæus, Julius Firmicus, Guido Bonatus, Alcabitus: significationes breviss. lib. Planet., Aratus, Cusanus, Thomæ (Aquin.)"

F. 44. r. "DE VIRTUTE ET VITIIS SIGNORUM ET PLANETARUM SINGULORUM *nempe luce et tenebris, quibus singuli definiuntur (?)*. Ad hanc doctrinam spectat considerare quædam ubique sunt in mundo corporeo et in his quæ circa corpora sunt bona admista malis, et malis bona sicut nusquam est materia sine forma neque forma sine materia in physicis, actus sine potentia, potentia sine actu, lux sine tenebris et tenebræ sine luce. . . ."

On voit sur le verso une figure: "in qua suo ordine Planetarum circa fortunas distribuendas ordo insinuat in annui circuli peripheria 5° planetarum nomina. . . ."

F. 45. r. "*De Virtute Loci.*" L'auteur cite l'histoire sacrée et l'histoire profane en faveur de la vertu occulte de certains lieux, particulièrement des montagnes.

F. 46. v. et 47. r. "*De Virtute Nominum.* Ad hæc etiam principia pertinet considerare vim magnam insitam esse in nominibus, cum quorum virtute fortunam et statum rei nominatæ currere existimant, proptereaque cum nominum mutatione convenire mutationem fortunæ vel genii plurimi affirmant, hoc credidisse Hebræos, Græcos et alias gentes per edita est valde manifestum 1^m vero his (hi ?) qui magis religioni et fidei sunt addicti et qui Deum nihil perperam facere habent pro principio et axiomate, non sine causa pluribus patribus nomina mutasse concionantur, mutatum fuit enim nomen Abrahami, et dicunt Cabalistæ in virtute unius litteræ ך illum acquisivisse

facultatem generandi: Idem dicunt quod cum deberet Jacob præesse fratri et gentibus per benedictionem et primogenituram, mutatum fuisse eius nomen in Israël, item de Isaac, de Saraj in Saram, in volumine item Christianorum invenimus Christum Simonem Gallilæum appellasse Petrum, item Cephā: Saulem quoque cum in vas electionis vellet promovere mutato nomine appellavit illum Paulum. Observant hoc plurimæ Christianorum sectæ, ut cum de Laicis recipiuntur in numerum cucul-latorum, vel de clericis in numerum Pontificum perperam nomina mutant, solum sequendo consuetudinem nominis non rationem. Romani pontifices sorte quadem proiecta (ut referunt) nomina sibi deligere ex decreto debent, prohibitum ne quis nomine Petri intituletur, metuunt enim sub illo nomine exitium. . . .”

F. 48. r. et v. “*De Numero et Mensura*” qui constitue le dernier chap. de ce traité. Nous citons le commencement: “Præter rationem temporis quo omnia distribuuntur, elargiuntur, quod Salomon etiam ad 7 capita redegit cum dixit: Omnia tempus habent et suis spaciis transeunt universa sub ☉° subdidit 7 Contradictoria cum 14 membris, tempus gaudendi, tempus tristani, tempus colligendi, spargendi, &c. Et CHRISTUS dixit se plenitudine temporis venisse cum premeretur ab adversariis dixit: hæc dies vestra et potestas tenebrarum. Cum aufugisset a volentibus eum lapidare nec multo postquam ad eos iterum redire vellet, objicientibus discipulis nunc volebant te lapidare et vis reverti, Respondit nonne 12 horæ sunt diei: Ubi nihil apertius quam quod non omnis hora dat omnia et eadem sed varia variæ. . . .”

Le traité finit par ces mots: “Et hæc sunt præcipua capita circa quæ oportet meditari, aggregare universalialia, exercere actum contemplationis et applicare praxes eum qui plenè magiam vult in pristinum et nobilissimum statum instaurare. Et de his satis.”

partim ex Physicis principiis educta, fideliter collecta per nos, nihilo propter et extra intentionem adducto, addito neque diminuto."

§ 1. r. "Intentio nostra est non tam vulgari more principia medicinæ quam praxi proxima sunt adducere, quam artem Lullii illam generalem ad omnes scientias et facultates ita limitare et modificare iuxta ejus intentiones, ut quilibet facile in veræ medicinæ totius cognitionem venire possit."

Ce traité remplit 15 f. On y trouve sur le recto de la 3^e f. une espèce de calendrier Médico-Astrologique figuré dans plusieurs cercles concentriques dont celui du milieu tourne sur son centre.

Sur le recto de la 66^e f. commence un traité qui remplit 17 f. Il n'a pas de titre et commence par ces mots :

I. "Influit Deus in angelos, angeli in corpora cœlestia, cœlestia in elementa, elementa in mixta, mixta in sensus, sensus in animum, animus in animal."

Le sujet de ce traité se rapporte directement à la Kabale. Une série de bons et de mauvais anges avec leurs noms se rattache aux mois, aux jours, aux saisons et même aux lieux : "*de Principibus locorum*" et de *Ducibus determinatum locum non habantibus*, &c. Sur le recto de la f. 76 se trouve collé un petit morceau de papier portant en gros caractères le nom d'*Abihail*, par-dessus un § intitulé *de Ignis potentia, nec non Terræ Aquæ et Aëris*. L'auteur se réfère dans quelques endroits sur Dionyse l'Aréopagite, sur Albert le G^d et sur Corn. Agrippa.

Le traité finit par ces mots : ". . . quod si qui libros maiores inscripssisse videatur, ipsum est qua extranea et ad rem minus facientia plurimum immiscuere fortasse ut artem minus perviam facerent, quod nos fecisse potuimus. Finis."

La f. 83 est en blanc. Suit (sur un papier d'un format un peu plus petit) le traité intitulé :

JORDANI BRVNI NOLANI

DE VINCULIS IN GENERE.

On voit vis-à-vis de ce titre, au haut de la page, devant le nom de l'auteur, son monogramme : la lettre B renfermée dans la lettre G, c.-à-d. *Giordano Bruno*, comme dans l'exemplaire de *l'Ars magna* de *Lullius*, qui a appartenu à Bruno. Le traité commence par :

“Ut Eum qui vincere debet, necessarium est rerum quodammodo universalem rationem habere, ut hominem qui Epilogus quidam omnium est aleat alligare, quandoquidem ut alibi diximus, in hac potissimum specie, rerum omnium species maximè per numeros licet intueri, ut eorum alii referuntur ad pisces, alii ad aves, ad serpentes, alii ad reptilia, tum secundum genus, tum secundum eorum species. Singulis item horum accidit diversitas Usus, Consuetudinis, Finis, Inclinationis, Complexionis, Ætatis, atque ita ut de Prothes fingunt atque Acheloö, eandem licet subjectam materiam in varias formas atque figuras transmigrantem, ut continuè ad vinciendum aliis atque aliis et nodorum utendum sit speciebus. Huc spectat quod consideratio de moribus hominum, nunc Juvenum, nunc Senum, nunc Mediorum, Nobilium, Divitum, Potentum, Fortunatorum, quibus adde mores Invidorum, Ambitiosorum Militum, Mercatorum, et id genus aliorum, quando et tales in Reipub. administrationem plerisque in partibus assumuntur, vel talibus etiam opus sit mediis et instrumentis, quos propterea vincere sibi etiam oporteat. Nihil tandem esse videtur, quod à Civili speculatione, sub forma huiusce consyderationis (quatenus vel vinciunt, vel vinciuntur, vel vincula quædam sunt, vel horum circumstantiæ) possit esse alienum. Quapropter adiecimus hanc considerationem, quæ de Vinculo in Genere intitulatur.”

Cette citation explique sommairement le sujet de la première partie du Traité, divisé en XXX. articles.

On trouve sur le recto de la f. 85, une *octave* Italienne à la suite de l'article IX. ainsi que suit :

"*Ut idem eodem contrariis alligat.*" "Confusa et quodammodo etiam contraria videntur esse vincientia ab eodem etiam vincientis genere, ubi contrarii vinculorum effectus et affectus inspiciuntur, quem enim (verbi gratia) Cupidinis vincula invaserint, uno eodemque igne, atque laquei sensu, videbitur cogi ad exclamandum, et tacendum, læticiam, tristitiam, spem et desperationem, timorem et audaciam, iram et mansuetudinem, fletum et risum, unde illud :

"Io che porto d'amor l'alto vessillo,
Gelate ho speme è li desir corenti,¹
A un tempo, agghiaccio et tremo, ardo et sfavillo,
E muto (e) colmo il ciel de strida ardenti.
D'al cuor scintillo, et da gli occhi acqua stillo.
Et vivo et muoio et fo risa et lamenti.
Ho vive l'acqui et l'incendio non more,
Che han Theti à gli occhi et ha Vulcano al cuore."

La seconde partie commence sur le r. de la f. 88. Elle est intitulée : "*De vincibilibus in genere,*" et se trouve divisée pareillement en 30 articles ; elle finit sur le v. de la f. 90. A la f. suivante se trouve la 3^{me} partie intitulée : "*De vinculo Cupidinis, et quodammodo in genere,*" de même divisée en 30 articles, mais Bruno n'a pu terminer ce traité ; il s'arrête à l'article XXII. dont la fin (f. 95. r.) est brusquement interrompue, presque au commencement de la page, comme suit :

"*Vinculorum Gratia. Ar. XXII.*"

"Gratitudinis speciem concupiscere faciunt Vincula, Oritur quippe (ut in uno vinculorum genere inducam) inter amantes querela, ubi mutuo alterum alteri debere præsumunt, judicat amans debitum amatæ, ut animam illi ablutam restituat, ubi in proprio corpore mortuus in alieno vixit. Si amans amatæ minus blanditur, queritur

¹ *Cuocenti.* This sonnet is No. 9 *Eroici Furori.*

hæc quasi eam ille curet minus, queritur amans versus amatam si."

Sur le recto de la 1^{re} f. du cahier suivant commence l'ouvrage de Bruno mentionné dans ses œuvres, mais qui n'a pas vu le jour :

LIBER TRIGINTA STATUARUM.

Ce titre n'est pas inscrit à la tête de l'ouvrage, mais il s'annonce de suite dans le texte qui commence sans intitulé, comme suit, par une grande lettre initiale A, où Bruno a intercalé l'année, le mois et le jour de la rédaction de l'ouvrage : 1591. $\frac{\text{VII. I.}}{\odot}$

"Animæ cibum esse veritatem, utpote quæ in eius substantiam, veluti proprium nutrimentum transmutabilis est, esse constat. Perfectio et finis huius nutrimenti est Lumen contemplationis, quo animus noster oculis intelligentiæ primum quidem Solem primæ veritatis, deinde ea quæ circa ipsum sunt valet intueri. Inventio particularium, est veluti prima cibi apprehensio: Collatio ipsorum in sensibus externis et internis est veluti digestio quædam: Intellectus perfecta informatio est tandem augmentum perfectionis nostræ, in præsentī statu, ad quem quasi ad animæ utilitatem et perfectam consistentiam, omnes in Natura scire desiderant promoveri concupiscunt: hoc habitu imbuti et istiusmodi corroborati alimento, in ea intelligimur dispositione, qua per artem,¹ et scientiam in operibus intelligentiæ progredimur. . . ." p. 1.

Le texte, divisé en chapitres, est écrit en doubles colonnes, excepté les introductions; il est paginé par l'auteur; nous indiquons les pages dans nos citations.

P. 2. "*De pluribus investigandi speciebus.*" Au § VI. de la colonne de ce chap. on lit: "Comparatur multiplicibus methodi speciebus quam explicavimus in *Libro 30 Sigillorum.*" Et le § VIII. de la même colonne dit: "Maximè comparatur Ratio quam in præsentia taretare

¹ *Eroici Furore*, W. 406.

intentamus." Après quoi: "Hæc quidem constat 30 STATUIS, in quibus 30 intentiones continentur, eo quo videbitur modo explicandæ, sicut quidem generalis, ut esse debeat, specialissimis autem speciebus magis applicabiles, quam principia Architica, Aristotelica et Lulliana, quibus quam melius informetur Ratio, aliorum esto iudicium."

P. 4. "Ordo erit procedendi à notioribus nominibus, sensibilibus et phantasiabilibus, ad intelligibilia, et contemplabilia, universalialia, quæ sunt Causæ et Rationes omnium particularium, et ideò ab iisdem tanquam à Causis et principiis, facillimo negotio media desumere licebit: Sensibilia erunt figuratæ species, et opera phantasiæ, et imaginantis fabrefactæ, per quas, subinde volumus ea, quæ à sensu sunt remotiora, significari: Itaque usum atque formam antiquæ philosophiæ, et priscorum Theologorum revocabimus, quo nimirum arcana Naturæ ejusmodi typis, et similitudinibus, non tantum velare consueverunt, quantum declarare, explicare, in seriem digerere, et faciliore memoriæ retentioni accommodare. Statuam quippe sensibilem, visibilem, imaginabilem, cum eadem ratione sensibilius appositis facillimè retineamus, fabulas effinctas levissimo negotio memoriæ commendamus, mysteria, consequenter doctrinas, et disciplinales intentiones per easdem significabiles, istorum suffragio, consequenter considerare omnem citra difficultatem: Non ergo huius docendi rationis primi sumus inventores, sed forte in hoc tempore, quaecunque sit ipsum, exuscitatores, ut natura comparatum est, ut vicissitudine quadam sibi succedant, non solum Tenebræ atque Lux varia philosophandi gratia. Neque enim novum est quod dicit Aristoteles in lib. de Cœlo. Necesse est easdem opiniones atque sensus certis statutisque regulis redire. Jam ergo quasi per Umbram atque titulum, per hæc intentio, Utilitas modus et ratio procedendi explicata sit. Quod superest, ad ea quæ ad substantiam rei pertinent, accedamus: . . ." Suivent:

P. 5. "*De tribus informibus, et infigurabilibus.* Ipsa sunt Chaos. Orcus et Nox: Ex quibus *Chaos* significat Vacuum; *Orcus* passivam, seu receptivam potentiam; *Nox*, Materiam."

"*De Chaos 1º Infigurabili . . .* Ipsius 30 sunt articuli: . . ." (Tous les chap. sont divisés en 30 articles.)

P. 9. "*De IIº informi, Orco sive Abyso.*"

P. 13. "*De IIIº infigurabili, puta de Nocte, seu Tenebris.*"

P. 15. "*De Noctis Statua.*"

P. 17. "*De opposita superna Triade, puta, Plenitudinis seu Mentis innominabilis, et incircumscripibilis, Apollinis Universali, et Spiritus seu lucis.*"

"Quemadmodum ab infernis est Chaos, Orcus et Nox, ita ab supernis est *Plenitudo, Idæarum fons, et Lux.*"

"*De Patre seu Mente, seu Plenitudine.*"

"Statua quidem *Patris* nulla est, Typus tamen ipsius est *Lux* infinita, in qua tria concurrunt; ut undique et ubique sit sol. . . ."

P. 20. "*De primo intellectu.*"

P. 25. "*De Lumine, seu Spiritu Universi.* Sicut a centro plenitudinis prodit lux, à luce fulgor: Ita à mente processit Intellectus, ab intellectu procedit Affectus quidam seu Amor. Mens super omnia videt et distribuit: Amor omnia fabricat et disponit: Mens dum sui quodammodo meminit, similitudinem quodammodo apprehendit, quæ est verbum suum, principium prædicans et referens; ex qua relatione et conceptione, prodit pulchritudinis illius amor: Mox ad secundi Universi constitutionem, primus intellectus concipit sui idæam, et in simplici illa specie idæas universorum, quarum specie delectatus, quasi calore quodam percitas spiritum producit, qui ab eo procedit, veluti a luce fulgur, hic sane fulgur implet universa, in omnia se totus diffundit, et sicut intellectus intelligit omnia in omnibus: ita iste affectat omnia in omnibus: operatur omnia in omnibus: unde

anima mundi dicitur, et spiritus Universorum: quem 30 conditionibus alioqui infigurabilem denotemus: . . .”

P. 28. “*Epilogus dictorum.*”

P. 29. “*De Apolline, et Monade seu Unitate.*” Vis-à-vis à la marge: “*Ordo Secundus.*”

P. 31. “*De Saturni Statua, et Principio.*”

P. 34. “*De Statua Promethei: Causa efficiente.*”

P. 36. “*De Officina Vulcani, seu de 30 formæ conditionibus vel rationibus.*”

P. 38. “*De Statua Vulcani, vel formæ propriis distinctionibus et definitionibus.*”

P. 41. “*De Thetidis Statua, seu de Subjecto.*”

P. 45. “*Statua Sagittarii pro explicatione Causæ finalis.*”

P. 47. “*De Monte Olympo, ad describendas omnes seu universas finis Significationes.*”

P. 49. “*Ordo tertius. . . . De Campo Cælii, Bonitate Naturali.*”

P. 51. “*De Campo Vestæ, seu Bono Morali.*”

P. 52. “*De Campo Oceani, seu Magnitudine.*”

P. 54. “*De Statua Martis, seu Virtutis.*”

P. 55. “*De Campo Telluris, seu de Potentia.*”

P. 57. “*De Campo Iunonis, seu Medio.*”

P. 59. “*De Momorgene, hoc est Habitudine, seu Relatione.*”

P. 61. “*Explicatio Cornu Acheloï, seu de Habere.*”

P. 63. “*De Campo Minervæ, seu de Noticia.*”

P. 65. “*De Schala Minervæ, seu de Habitibus Cognitionis.*”

P. 67. “*De Campo Veneris, hoc est, de Concordia.*”

P. 69. “*De Veneris Statua, Concordia in Voluntate.*”

Ce chapitre est séparé à l'article XIX. par un titre particulier: “*Sequuntur rationes propriæ rationalibus et intellectualibus.*”

P. 71. “*Tela seu nodi Cupidinis, Concordia inactione.*”

“*De Statua, et membris Cupidinis seu differentiis voluntatis.*”

P. 74. "*De pelle Amaltheæ capræ. Diversitatis significationibus.*"

P. 75. "*De Campo Litis. Contrarietatis conditionibus.*"

P. 76. "*De Campo Æonos, seu Æternitatis.*"

P. 78. "*De Applicatione Triginta Statuarum. Primo de Applicatione sex infigurabilium.*"

P. 80. "*De ratione prædicatorum communicabilium, diversis Schalæ gradibus.*"

"*De quatuor infimis simplicibus.*"

P. 81. "*De quatuor prope simplicibus.*"

"*De tribus generibus imperfectè incompositorum, hoc est mixtorum.*"

"*De tribus perfecte compositis.*"

"*De Quinque animalium generibus.*"

P. 82. "*De Imperfectis compositis prope lucem, seu plenitudinem.*"

"*De pfecte compositis prope lucem.*"

P. 83. "*De iis quæ sunt prope simplicia.*"

P. 84. "*De substantiæ pura, et simplici. . . Sequitur arbor substantiæ*" (figuré sur la page suivante).

P. 86. "*De explicata Schala prædicatorum, seu attributorum Substantiæ, et Naturæ, universaliter dictæ*" (divisé en cinq parties).

P. 90. "*De Constituenda Arbore, pro captanda distinctiore horum, terminorum definitione*" (figuré sur la page suivante).

P. 91. "*De Statuis dictionum . . . sit ergo I Statua Athlantis.*"

"In 15 geminas partes divisa seu distributa, ita ut 30 membris distinguatur, quorum Dextrum sit membrum Lucis, sinistrum Tenebrarum: Alterum inquam perfectioris Rationis, Alterum imperfectioris. NB. I Gygis eius dextra pertinet ad II^m Gygantem. . . ."

. . . *Tabula statuæ distinctionis: . . .*

P. 94. "*De statua Typhonis.*"

P. 95. "*De tribus Gygantum hypostasibus, in quibus triplex sequens distinctionum genus significatur.*"

P. 96. "*Primum Genus in Persona Cereri Gygantis.*"

P. 98. "*De Hypostasi Alchionei.*"

P. 99. "*De Polypoetis hypostasi.*"

P. 100. "*De Applicatione Artis inventivæ et indicativæ, explicata in 30 statuarum vocibus.*"

P. 101. "*Utilitas Lampadis huius ad alias.*"

"*De distinctione ministeriorum spectantium ad diversa membra 30 statuarum.*"

P. 103. "*De Praxi inventionis per prædicta.*" Divisé en cinq parties, la dernière est intitulée "*De Casibus definitionis . . . Exempla quorundam definibilium.*"

P. 109. On lit à la fin : "Quid est Calamus? Est instrumentum seu organum artificiale, ad delineandum seu designandum ea, quæ sunt in Voce, seu dictiones vocales, vel aliquid aliud huiuscemodi notandum et pingendum, quod si lubet addere materiam, dicas ex avis pluma, vel canna. *Finis.*"

Ce n'est pourtant pas la fin de l'ouvrage. A la page suivante on trouve le chapitre *De ratione verificandi seu enunciandi*, qui finit à la p. 113 par ces mots : "Utrumque perfecimus, et tuas intellectus operationes sufficientissimè regulavimus," terminé par "*Finis.*"

Ce n'est pas non plus la fin : à la page suivante (114) on trouve le chapitre "*De tertia et ultima praxi,*" qui est d'une grande importance, parce qu'on y trouve le mode de procéder dans l'application de la doctrine de Bruno exposé dans ce livre dont le vrai titre est, comme nous le verrons : "*ARS INVENTIVA PER TRIGINTA STATUAS.*"

En voici quelques citations (pp. 114-121) :

" . . . Per exemplum : Homo est substantia composita ex intellectuali et materiali, media inter superiorem et inferiorem Naturam, et nexus utriusque. Ideò Unitas illi non convenit secundum rationem absoluti, simplicis, sed contracti et compositi, coordinati conspirantium partium et cæteris consequentibus rationibus : sicut ergo est unum ita et est magnum, ita potens, ita cognoscens, utpote habet magnitudinem intelligibilem, et sensibilem potentiam, materiale et immateriale, cognitionem secundum sensum et intellectum, itaque de cæteris prædicatis

utpote de contrarietate, concordia, differentiis et cæteris. Iam de homine quidlibet possumus demonstrare, quod verè illi convenit per quodlibet aliud. Vel si sophisticè procedendo volumus falso demonstrare; ejus definitionem alteremus oportet, ut appellando hominem tantummodò illam internam naturam, si de ipso magnificè sentire volumus, vel animale tantum partem, nihil illi supra bestiis attribuentes, si de ipso perperam iudicare volumus.

“ Jam ut exemplum unum accipiamus, quo per proposita principia discurrendo de aliqua re discurremus, proponatur nobis :

Anima non est accidens.

I. Omne accidens ita continetur à subjecto, ut non possit esse à subjecto.

Anima verò potius continet subjectum: quia omnis forma naturalis terminus est, et appellatur et est ratio termini (omne accidens continetur à subjecto).

II. Nullum accidens absolvitur à subjecto, et realiter existit sine subjecto.

Omnis forma simplex non extenta ad subjecti extensionem et per se subsistens est substantia. Anima est huiusmodi.

III. Omnis forma accidentalis cum subjecti inconstantia et varietate (variabili) mutatur.

Anima non est huiusmodi, quia ut etiam Aris-

toteles fatetur, si seni detur oculus juvenis videt ut juvenis.

IV. Omne cui convenit ratio et essentia substantiæ verè est substantia.

Sed animæ convenit esse ens per se existens et subjectum potentiarum.

V. Nullum accidens est solum et separatum.

At anima est sola et separata.

VIII. Omne accidens requirit materiam et subiectum pro sui existentia.

Anima vero per se existit et substat, et subiectum est accidentium et potentiarum.

A Saturni statua juxta tres primas rationes.

A principio originali.
Quia anima patrem dicit Deum, unde vel est ex divina substantia vel ex peculiari quadam, pariter non potest denominari accidens.

A semine. Quia anima non est virtus seminis, neque accidens, sed est agens et formatrix in eo et per ipsam.

Ratione praesidentiae.
Quia ipse regit, gubernat, omnino corpus.

Ergo hoc est potius instrumentum, quam principium illius.

|| *Ex campo Thetidis.*

Omne accidens habet se sicuti color, omnis materia sicut tenebrae.

Anima vero pertinet ad sphaeram lucis. Est neque accidens est neque materia, sed immaterialis substantia. Maior est manifesta, quia praest, dominatur rei, et vivificat materiam h. e. subiectum compositum.

|| *Ex Saggitario.*

Ex distinctione finis.
Anima est finis, ad quem ordinantur omnes materiae partes, Potius enim corpus

propter animam, quam anima propter corpus.

Ex media ultimi parte.
Anima est ultima et suprema species inter divina et naturalia, ad quam omnia inferiora ordinantur, sicut ordo scholae requirit.

|| *Ex Monte Olympi.*

Ex parte dimensionum.
Nulla forma accidentalis entelechiam corporis transcendit, neque transcendere potest limites corporis.

Sed anima multo intervallo relinquit post se materiam tanquam nihil.

|| *Ex campo Caeli.*

Ex nuditate. Omnis forma accidentalis est veluti indumentum materiae, et substantialis forma corporea, necessario est accidentibus induta.

Anima vero neque substantiae corporeae indumentum, neque secundum suam naturam accidentibus induta est corporeis, sed nuda substantia et simplex.

Solitudine. Omne accidens in corporis compositione consistit, utpote emanans ex

coitu materiæ et formæ substantialis.

Anima vero dicitur forma sine materia existens, et etiam necessario est, quia illi dominatur.

|| *Ex campo Vestæ.*

Indole. Anima dicitur ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei à Theologis et à Philosophis, simulachrum Divinitatis, vel filia mentis. Tale non dicit esse materiale, vel forma materialis.

II. Ipsa forma materialis, est lux alligata tenebris. Accidens materiale est veluti nigredo seu color resultans è tenebris.

Animæ vero substantia, neque à materia resultat neque materiæ est alligata.

Ex voluntate. Anima aspirat vel ad propriam regionem, et propriam lucem, quia amat veritatem, et alitur veritate nititurque Divinis.

Ergo non est accidens, neque forma corporis cui indolem referat.

|| *Ex campo Oceani.*

Ex magnitudine latitud. et profunditatis. Anima secundum esse, posse et operari, subsistit, valet et

agit ultra fines et limites mundi corporei et appetit ultra materiam atque corpus.

Anima vero non corpori accedit, sed tota materia accedit et absumitur ab anima, ex qua corpus sibi fabrefecit.

Ergo neque corporis accidens.

Minor manifesta, quia parvo synapis grano, accedit forma arboris, tamquam animæ existentis in centro seminis, non autem anima advenit arbori iam fabrefacto.

III. Cognoscentiæ omnis vis et efficacia formæ materialis adolescit et perficitur. . . .

Anima vero est quæ adolescere facit, cum ipsa non adolescat, sed perpetuo constat eadem quod est etiam ab adversariis concessum.

|| *De Telis Cupidinis.*

Ex parte habitudinis, seu inclinationis. Quia anima intus Deus fieri, et in similitudinem Dei trasformari. Ergo est quædam substantia.

II. Quia illam Deus allo-

quitur tangit, pulsat, talis autem subiectio est suppositi non accidentis alicuius.

|| *Ex campo Æonos.*

Ex parte æterni, quod non eget conservatione. Omne autem accidens et forma corporea, in compositione consistens, conservante indiget tempore et loco et complexione quadam.

Anima vero ipsa seipsam movet, seipsam servat, et non exinde mutuatis principiis, quo aliquo connectente et retinente consistent, est formata sed individua sub-

stantia. Est vita seipsam servans, sicut à seipsa discedere non poterit.

.

Ex parte transmutationis. Omne quod corrumpitur vel evanescit ut accidentia, et formæ accidentales corrumpi, dicuntur, vel in aliud transit.

Anima vero neque evanescit, quia non est accidens, quia est neutrius formæ rationale, neque in aliud transit, quia substantia est simplex et nuda. . . .

“Itaque disseruimus probando animam esse subsistentem, non accidentalem formam, non Entelechiam, non harmoniam, non aliud simile.

“Media plura ad idem probandum et quodcunque aliud desumi possunt, persequendo cætera statuarum membra, quorum tria priora tantum selegimus: commodiora vel graviora, videbuntur esse consequentia ubique, quia hunc ordinem servare consuevimus, ut à levioribus mediis ad graviora et potissima procederemus, adeo ut ultimum cæterorum omnium complexionem includere videatur.

“Itaque Gratias Deo agentes ARTEM INVENTIVAM PER 30 STATUAS perfecimus. Reliquum est ut quo quisque prout credit posse ex istius lumine bonum, meliorem, vel optimum fructum comparare, bene, melius, vel optimè in istis assuescat: Multùm enim confert bonam non solùm incurrisse disciplinam, et à bono lumine, sed illud præcipuum esse videtur, ut aliquis quod habet fidat se habere et iuxta fidem excolat agrum et iugi meditatione rerum

rigans agrum, ingenii, propria iniecta semina adolescere faciat, incrementum sumat, et fructus suo tempore præstoletur. Infidi vero et desperantes quos neque numina posse curare testantur, ocio et torpore et innata desidia, talentum suffodiunt, et segetem muribus corro dendam prætermittunt."

F Anno 1591. I Mens: Octob: N Die 22 ♂. I Paduæ. S.

Le livre finit sur le recto de la p. 121. Suivent deux f. bl.

Le MS. est terminé par un cahier de 20 f. (d'une écriture peu soignée et sur un tout autre papier) qui contient :

(F. 1. r.)

ARTIFICIOSA METHODUS MEDICINÆ EX LULLIANIS
FRAGMENTIS.

Cet opuscule est divisé en XIII. traités. Les trois premiers qui contiennent le *subjectum* ne portent pas de titre ; ils se terminent à la f. 5^e dont le *verso* est occupé par un cercle astrologique. Les dix autres traités sont :

Tract. IV. De febribus.—T. V. De urinis.—T. VI. De pulsibus.—T. VII. De regionibus digestionum.—T. VIII. De causis doloris.—T. IX. De appetitu.—T. X. De humoribus.—T. XI. De gradibus infirmitatum.—T. XII. De curis infirmorum.—T. XIII. De XVI. electuariis generalibus. Ce dernier chap. est terminé sur le recto de la f. 19 par ces mots : ". . . Quia ista XVI. electuaria debet medicus in promptu : habere, ut subito infirmitatibus possit succurere, et talis doctrina est utilis et facilis scientibus istum librum, et quia sine isto Libro vel arte non potest haberi scientia de omnibus supradictis : quia ars sine scientia thesaurus pauperum vere erit."

Au bas de cette feuille se trouve surcollé un lambeau

de pap. sur lequel on lit une *recette* pour confectionner le *colirium*. Le dernière f. suivante se trouve occupée par un cercle astrologique. Outre cela une feuille volante et un parchemin a été trouvée dans le MS. Elle forme un réseau en parallélogramme dont un côté est divisé en 13 parties et l'autre en 22 ; les petits quarrés que forment les lignes de division sont en partie découpés, tandis que les filets des lignes sont soigneusement conservés.¹

C'est une de ces *schemata* ou figures explicatives des théories mnémoniques ou métaphysiques de l'auteur qu'il se complaisait à exécuter de ses propres mains comme l'atteste Wechel de Francfort, éditeur de quelques-unes de ses œuvres : "Opus aggressus, ut quam accuratissime absolveret, non schemata solum sua manu sculpsit, sed etiam operarum se in eodem correctorem præbuit."²

L'explications de la table se trouve probablement dans le texte du manuscrit.³

Nous appelons l'attention du monde savant sur les passages du MS. qui lèvent complètement l'accusation calomnieuse qui a été portée contre le célèbre philosophe italien d'avoir professé des dogmes antichrétiens, et la transmigration des âmes. Les passages consignés sur les ff. 23. r. et 48. r., ainsi que les propositions émises dans le livre *De Triginta Statuarum* (pp. 114-121), qui adoptent la *révélation*, qui s'appuyent sur les paroles du Christ (dont le très saint nom est tracé par la main de Bruno en lettres majuscules), et enfin qui parlent de l'immatérialité et de la substantialité de l'âme, protestent hautement contre les farouches ennemis de Bruno, auxquels sans doute il applique les paroles du Christ citées à la f. 48. r. : "*Hic dies vestra et potestas tenebrarum.*" Ce passage et ce qui le suit forme comme une prédiction du sort qui

¹ Noi sopprimiamo il disegno per le difficoltà che incontrano le nostre tipografie nel riprodurlo.

² J. Bruni Nol. detriplici minimo et mensura ; dans la préface de Wechel.

³ C'est aux recherches éclairées de M. Tross, libraire à Paris, que je dois l'acquisition de ce précieux MS. exporté de l'Allemagne.

était réservé au hardi philosophe. Pouvait-on méconnaître un philosophe chrétien dans celui qui disait dans le dernier ouvrage qu'il a publié (*De Triplici Minimo et Mensura*, L. I. p. 2, v. 33, 34);

“*Novi Telluris faciem nihilominus esse
Fulgentem, verè sanctum et venerabile sidus.*”

III.

THE LOST WORKS OF BRUNO.

Date.	Title.	Notes.
1570?	L'arca di Noè.	Bruno alludes twice to this work (W. ii. 255; W. i. 149). He says he dedicated it to Pope Pius V. (1566-72).
1570 or 1571.	Poems.	These are treated by Berti as a separate work. They are spoken of in the beginning of <i>Il Candelajo</i> , and may be embodied in the <i>Heroici Furori</i> .
1576.	De Sphæra.	On somewhat insufficient grounds Berti implies the existence of this work. In his evidence before the Venetian inquisitors Bruno uses the following words: "Io stetti in Noli circa quattro mesi insegnando la grammatica ai figliuoli, et leggendo la sfera a certi gentiluomini." This scarcely implies the existence of a book on the subject written by Bruno.
1576 or 1577.	Dei Segni dei Tempi. Printed at Venice.	In the documentary evidence at Bruno's trial we read, "Whilst I was here" (in Venice) "I caused a cer-

Date.	Title.	Notes.
		tain little book, entitled <i>Of the Signs of the Times</i> , to be printed, and I had it done to get a little money for my support." This work was probably printed either without a name or under that of Filippo Bruni or Bruno.
1577-8	De Anima.	"This book," says Berti, "was the fruit of Bruno's teaching at Toulouse." Part of the Noroff Collection contains, towards the close of the book <i>De Triginta Statutarum</i> , a number of paragraphs on the Soul, headed " <i>Anima non est accidens</i> ."
1578-9	Liber Clavis Magnae.	"This book," says Berti, "was composed in Toulouse, as may be inferred from Bruno's constant references to it in his first books printed in Paris." Is this statement reconcilable with <i>Est et Unica Clavis</i> , "Bruno's second title to his <i>De Lampade Combinatoria</i> " ?

Date.	Title.	Notes.
1578-9	Dei Predicamenti di Dio. MSS.	Berti believes this book to have been written in Paris between 1579 and 1583, and to be the work alluded to by Mocenigo (Doc. I.) as "a small work in his hand on God by the deduction of certain of His universal predicates." It is perhaps in Rome in the archives of the Holy Office. "I place in the hands of your reverence," says Mocenigo, "three printed books of this same man, wherein are noted other things that have escaped me, along with a small work in his hand of God, by the deduction of certain of His universal predicates, whereby you may measure his understanding." (<i>First Document: Trial.</i>)
1582.	Purgatorio dell' Inferno.	"A voi Smitho, mandarò quel dialogo del Nolano, che si chiama Purgatorio dell' Inferno, e ivi vedrai il frutto de la redenzione" (<i>Cena de le Ceneri</i>).

Date.	Title.	Notes.
1591.	De Rerum Imaginibus.	“In libro de rerum imaginibus (volente Deo) explicabimus, ut quælibet res duos habeat dextrum sinistrumque; genios, eosque; active vel passive, et secundum plurimas in prima entis divisione et diadis ordine, differentias” (<i>De Monade</i> , p. 33).
1591.	Libro delle Sette Arti Liberali.	“Disegnava,” says Bruno in his evidence, “di ritornare in Francoforte per far stampare alcune mie opere delle 7 Arti Liberali, et 7 altre arti inventive.” Unprinted, and perhaps in the archives of the Holy Office in Rome (Doc. XVII.)
1591.	Templum Mnemosynes.	Bartholmæss (vol. ii. p. 60) thinks this may have been a collection of Latin poems. Berti (p. 30) believes it to be entirely or in part reproduced in the work <i>De Compositione Imaginum</i> —another name perhaps for the work <i>De Rerum Imaginibus</i> .

Date.	Title.	Notes.
1591.	De Multiplici Mundi Vita. De Naturæ Gestibus. De Principiis Veri. De Astrologia.	These four works are quoted by Berti and Barthhomèss. The latter believes them to have been works on logic. He says that Bruno has alluded to them all by name.
1591.	De Physica Magia.	<i>De Triplici Minimo</i> , p. 74. See the Noroff Catalogue.
1591.	De Physica.	<i>De Triplici Minimo</i> , p. 12. Berti further counts among Bruno's lost works a <i>Libretto di Congiurationi</i> . Mocenigo, Bruno's denouncer, says in his evidence at the trial, that Bruno "entreated me to keep all I had of his (for all he had was mine), and that it would suffice him if I would but bestow on him a transcript <i>d'un libretto di congiuratione che io ho trovato tra certe sue carte scritte</i> " (Doc. II.) May not this work be the <i>Libro de Sigillis Hermetis et Ptolemei</i> , a transcript of which was made at Padua for the use of Mocenigo?

IV.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF AUTHORITIES.



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V.

THE LETTER OF SCIOPPIUS.

THIS letter is to be found in the Town Library at Breslau, where it was brought from the library of the Elizabeth Church at Breslau. It is in a collection consisting of several thousands of letters, mostly originals, and therefore furnished on the outside with the addresses. On the letter of Scioppius (which fills nearly three pages in folio) the address is wanting, and the conclusion is, therefore, that it is not the original. It is written so distinctly that there can be no doubt about any of the letters. Struve's copy was sent him by the then librarian of Breslau, Krantz, and is very accurate. I have compared it carefully with a copy of the original kindly made by Dr. Markgraf, the town librarian of Breslau, and officially certified by him.

CUNRADO RITTERSHUSIO SUO G. SCHOPPIUS, FR. S.

Quas ad nuperam tuam expostulatoriam Epistulam rescripsi, non jam dubito, quin tibi sint redditae, quibus me tibi de vulgato responso meo satis purgatum confido. Vt vero nunc etiam scriberem, hodierna ipsa dies me instigat, qua Iordanus Brunus propter haeresin vivus vidensque publice in Campo Florae ante theatrum Pompeii est combustus. Existimo enim et hoc ad extremam impressae epistolae meae partem, qua de haereticorum poena egi, pertinere. Si .n. nunc Romae esses, ex plerisque omnibus Italis audires, Lutheranum esse combustum, et

ita non mediocriter in opinione tua de saevitia nostra confirmaveris. At semel scire debes, mi Ritterhusi, Italos nostros inter haereticos alba linea non signare neque discernere novisse, sed quicquid est haereticum, illud Lutheranum esse putant, in qua simplicitate, ut Deus illos conservet precor, ne sciant unquam, quid haeresis alia ab aliis discrepet. Vereor enim ne alioquin ista discernendi scientia nimis caro ipsis constet. Vt autem veritatem ipsam ex me accipias, narro tibi, idque ita esse fidem do testem: nullum prorsus Lutheranum aut Calvinianum, nisi relapsum vel publice scandalosum, ullo modo Romae periclitari, nedum ut morte puniatur. Haec sanctissimi Domini nostri mens est, ut omnibus Lutheranis Romam pateat liber commeatus, utque a Cardinalibus et Praelatis Curiae nostrae omnis generis benevolentiam et humanitatem experiantur. Atque utinam hic esses, Rittershusi! scio fore, ut rumores vulgatos mendacii damnes. Fuit superiore mense Saxo quidam nobilis hic apud nos, qui annum ipsum domi Bezae vixerat. Is multis Catholicis innotuit, ipsi etiam Confessario Pontificis Cardinali Baronio qui eum humanissime excepit, et de religione nihil prorsus cum eo egit, nisi quod obiter eum adhortatus est ad veritatem investigandam. De periculo jussit eum fide sua esse securissimum, dum ne quod publice scandalum praeberet. Ac mansisset ille nobiscum diutius, nisi sparso rumore de Anglis quibusdam in Palatium Inquisitionis deductis perterritus sibi metuisset.

At Angli illi non erant, quod vulgo ab Italis dicuntur, Lutherani, sed Puritani et de sacrilega Venerabilis sacramenti percussione Anglis usitata suspecti. Similiter forsan et ipse rumori vulgari crederem Brunum istum fuisse ob Lutheranismum combustum, nisi S. Inquisitionis officio interfuissem, dum sententia contra eum est lata, et sic scirem, quamnam ille haeresin professus fuerit. Fuit enim Brunus ille patria Nolanus ex regno Neapolitano professione Dominicanus: qui cum jam annis ab

hinc octodecim de transubstantiatione (rationi nimirum ut Chrysostomus tuus docet, repugnante) dubitare, imo eam prorsus negare, et statim virginitatem B. Maria (quam idem Chrysostomus omnibus Cherubin et Seraphin puriorem ait) in dubium vocare coepisset, Genevam abiit, et istic biennium commoratus, tandemque quod ad Calvinismum, qua tamen nihil recta magis ad Atheismum ducit, per omnia non probaret, inde ejectus Lugdunum, inde Tholossam, hinc Parisios devenit, ibique extraordinarium Professorem egit, cum videret ordinarios cogi Missae sacro interesse. Postea Londinum profectus libellum istic edit de Bestia Triumphante, h. c. de Papa, quem vestri honoris Causa bestiam appellare solent. Inde Witebergam abiit, ibique publice professus est biennium, nisi fallor. Hinc Pragam delatus librum edit de immenso et infinito, itemque de innumerabilibus (si titulorum sat recte memini; nam libros ipsos Pragae habui) et rursus alium de umbris et Idaeis, in quibus horrenda prorsusque absurdissima docet, ut q. mundos esse innumerabiles, animam de corpore in corpus, imo et alium in mundum migrare, unam animam bina corpora informare posse, magiam esse rem bonam, et licitam, Spiritum Sanctum non esse aliud nisi animam mundi et hoc voluisse Moysen, dum scribit, eum fovisse aquas; mundum esse ab aeterno, Moysen miracula sua per magiam operatum esse, in qua plus profecerat, quam reliqui Aegyptii; eum leges suas confinxisse, sacras literas esse somnium, Diabolos salvatum iri, solos Hebreos ab Adamo et Eva originem ducere, reliquos ab iis duobus, quos Deus pridie fecerat, Christum non esse Deum, sed fuisse magum insignem et hominibus illuisse, ac propterea merito suspensum (Italice impiccato) non crucifixum esse, Prophetas et Apostolos fuisse homines nequam, magos et plerosque suspensos denique infinitum foret omnia ejus portenta recensere, quae ipse et libris et viva voce asseruit. Uno verbo ut dicam quicquid unquam ab Ethnicorum Philosophis vel a nostris antiquis et recen-

tioribus haereticis est assertum, id omne ipse propugnavit. Praga Brunsuigam et Helmstadium provenit et ibi aliquandiu, professus dicitur. Inde Francofurtum librum editurus abiit, tandemque Venetiis in Inquisitionis manus pervenit, ubi diu satis cum fuisset Romam missus est, et saepius a S. officio, quod vocant, Inquisitionis examinatus, et a summis Theologis convictus, modo quadraginta dies obtinuit quibus deliberaret, modo promisit Palinodiam, modo denuo suas nugas defendit, modo alios quadraginta dies impetravit; sed tandem nihil egit aliud, nisi ut Pontificem et inquisitionem deluderet. Fere igitur biennio post, quam hic in Inquisitionem devenit, nupera die nona Februarii in Supremi Inquisitoris Palatio praesentibus Illustrissimis Cardinalibus S. officii Inquisitionis (qui et senio et rerum usu et Theologiae Iurisque scientia reliquis praestant) et Consultoribus Theologis, et saeculari Magistratu, Urbis Gubernatore: fuit Brunus ille in locum Inquisitionis introductus, ibique genibus flexis sententiam contra se pronunciari audiit. Ea autem fuit hujusmodi: Narrata fuit ejus vita, studia et dogmata, et qualem Inquisitio diligentiam in convertendo illo et fraterne monendo adhibuit, qualemque ille pertinaciam et impietatem ostenderit: inde eum degradarunt, ut dicimus, prorsusque excommunicarunt, et saeculari magistratui cum tradiderunt puniendum, rogantes ut quam clementissime et sine sanguinis profusione puniretur. Haec cum ita essent peracta, nihil ille respondit aliud, nisi minabundus. Majori forsán cum timore sententiam in me fertis, quam ego accipiam. Sic a Lictoribus Gubernatoris in Carcerem deductus ibique octiduo asservatus fuit, si vel nunc errores suos revocare vellet, sed frustra. Hodie igitur ad rogam sive piram deductus cum Salvatoris Crucifixi imago ei jam morituro ostenderetur, torvo eam vultu aspernatus rejecit, sicque ustulatus misere periit, renunciaturus credo in reliquis illis, quos finxit mundis, quonam pacto homines blasphemi et impii a Romanis tractari soleant. Hic itaque mi Rittershusi

modus est, quo contra homines, imo monstra huiusmodi a nobis procedi solet.] Scire nunc ex te studeam, isne modus tibi probetur: an vero velis licere unicuique quidvis et credere et profiteri. Equidem existimo te non posse eum non probare. Sed illud forte addendum putabis: Lutheranos talia non docere neque credere, ac proinde aliter tractandos esse. Assentimur ergo tibi et nullum prorsus Lutheranum comburimus. Sed de ipso Propheta vestro Lutherō aliam forte rationem iniremus. Quid .n. dicis, Rittershusi, si asseram et probare tibi possim, Lutherum non eadem quidem, quae Brunus, sed vel absurdiora magisque horrenda non dico in Convivialibus sed in iis quos vivus edidit libris, tanquam sententias, dogmata et oracula docuisse? quid tu hoc non credis? Mone quaeso, si nondum satis novisti eum qui veritatem tot saeculis sepultam vobis eruit, et faciam ipsa tibi loca indicentur, in quibus succum quincti istius Evangelii deprehendas, quamvis istic Anatomiam Lutheri a Pistorio habere possitis.¹ Nunc si Lutherus Brunus est, quid eo fieri debere censes? nimirum tardipedi Deo dandum, infelicibus ustulandum lignis—quid illis postea, qui eum pro Evangelista, Propheta, tertio Elia habent? hoc tibi cogitandum potius relinquo: tantum ut hoc mihi credas, Romanos non ea severitate erga haereticos experiri, qua creduntur, et qua debebant forte erga illos, qui scientes volentes pereunt. Sed de his satis.² Quae nuper a te petii, rogo pro veteri nostra amicitia rires diligenter: qui si tuo nomine similiter quid facere potero, faciam neque fidem neque industriam in me desiderare queas. Sulpitii vitam cum acceperis, quaero quando editionem sis auspicaturus, et hoc te amice moneo apud doctos potius quam apud juvenes vel vulgariter eruditos laudem ex ea quaerere cogites. Satis jam datum aurae isti. Nunc solis majorum gentium literatis placendum quod fiet, si non

¹ Catullus, Ode 26.

² At this point the copy in the Macchiavellizatio of 1621, concludes with the words, Rome, 9 February 1886.

Haec nisi
amicus non
scriberem,
quae si ami-
cus es in
bonam par-
tem acci-
pies. Mihi
hic non seri-
tur, nec
metitur.
Vtinam
eandem liber-
tate in me
usus esses
olim ante-
quam libros
ederem.

omnia quae in scholiis dici possunt, attuleris, sed ea, quae velles ab alio magno viro tibi proposita esse. Deinde ne appareat affectatio aliqua multae lectionis vel scientiae, ut q. cum in Gunthero annotas Chaos ab Hebraeo dici quod postea putant alii de industria esse positum, ne Hebraearum literarum rudis videaris. Tertio ne quicquam contra Catholicos, maxime de industria arrepta occasione, afferas, non quod putem esse cur Catholici sibi a te metuant (erunt .n. illi cum tu non eris) sed quod nolim libris et nomini tuo aditum Italiae et Hispaniae et forte brevi Galliae ipse intercludas. Si enim Concilium Tridentinum, velut nuper se laboraturum Pontifici Rex Christianissimus promisit, in Gallia recipiatur: actum erit de libris vestris. Et quando tandem, mi Rittershusi, serio sapere incipies, ut quanto cum animae corporisque periculo inter Novatores vivas, intelligas? Cede sodes, mi carissime, cede inquam tantis doctoribus, et puta eos melius Biblia intellexisse. Causabonus noster, ut video, bonum tibi exemplum praeire incipit, qui nuper modestissimam in hoc genere Epistolam ad Card. Baronium perscripsit. Deus illum magis illustret, teque illi secutorem faciat.

De studiis tuis quid nunc prae manibus habeas vel confectum vel adfectum, scire velim: item num Pandectas praelegere coeperis, postquam a vobis discessit vapulator tuus Wesembecius. Ego sub finem superioris et anni et saeculi Commentarium de Indulgentiis absolveram, qui in Germania imprimetur. nunc Spicilegium Apuleianarum lectionum absolvi. mox editioni epistolae cujusdam Dionisii Alexandrini accingar. Inde novam Agellii aeditionem (ne vide) cogito, invito quamvis Fiannio, qui adeo in aula foelix esse incipit, ut illis quoque sordeat, qui iisdem dediti literis humanioribus, quid credis propediem futurum? Francisci Schotti Itinerarium Italicum vidistine? Si non vidisti, autor sim istic ut emas. mittam ego prima occasione Romae antiquae et novae delineationes, magno tibi usui futuras in scriptoribus interpretandis. Wacke-

rius noster ait se humanissime et prolixissime ad te scripsisse, sed a te ne MH¹ quidem Lucillii accipere adhuc potuisse. Vnde, inquit, plane suspicor ipsum nobiscum Stomachari, et cum hominibus Idolatris rem amplius habere nolle: quod nobis ferendum est. Ego mi Rittershusi, non video quid tibi amicitia tanti viri nocere possit. noli quaeso ab humanitate, quam profitemur, tam alienus ut illud accusari in te forte queat, quod innuere, quam dicere nimio malo. Sed fortassis literae ejus tibi non sunt redditae: id quod ego suspicari malo et hoc etiam modo ipsi te nunc purgo. Tu si me audis, nullam tibi hebdomadam elabi sines, qua nihil ad ipsum scribas, praesertim de literis nostris. Mihi crede vir est ille tui cupidissimus, quique te quamvis non Catholicum juvare et vellit et possit. Lipsius noster, sed secundus, ubi gentium est? quid ejus Sallustius, quid liber de comitibus ubi haerent? Guldinastus quorsum pervenit, quorsum Kuchelius, Hubnerus, Ignatius? quaeso mecum communices, si quid de illis certi habes. Uxorem tuam liberosque: D. Queccium, Scherbiumque salvere jubeo. Roma, ut soleo, raptim A.D. 17 Febr. A°. 1600.

Tuus ex animo et nunc et olim,

G. SCHOPPIUS FR.

Antonius Faber elegans ille, ut Giphanius aiebat, Jurisc^{is}. nunc Romae vivit cum familia in negociis Ducis Lotharingiae, vir optimus et humanissimus, et in vera solidaque jurisprudentia tradenda plus quam Giphanianus. Valde vellem ad eum scriberes, spondeo tibi amicitiam Viri minime poenitendam.

¹ = mu, compare Lucian, Müller, Lucilius, ii. v. 27. Lathmann, v. 1138. Dousa, Luc. Sat. vel., p. 50.



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